1: Karsten--1 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-2
116, 101 (1928-29)

"The large virgin forests in the Eastern Province of the Ecuadorian republic and the Peruvian Provincia de Loreto are inhabited by various Indian tribes some of which are now half-civilized and Christians in name, some again complete savages and independent of the whites. Among the former the Napo Indians, living on the upper and middle course of the river Napo, and the Canelos Indians, living along the banks of the small river Bobonaza, an affluent of the Pastaza, as well as the Cocama Indians on the Marañon, are the most important, whereas among the tribes still living in a state of nature there are the little known Avishiris in the region of the Rio Curaray, the Záparos on the Rio Tigre, and the different tribes of the great Jibaro nation.

The last mentioned, who in their own language call themselves Shuāra--of which the name Jibaro seems to be but a Spanish corruption--are probably one of the most numerous tribes in South America east of the Andes. They inhabit a very large area, limited approximately by the Ecuadorian Andes in the west, the river Tigre in the east, and the Marañon in the south. Formerly, I believe, the Pastaza was roughly the eastern limit of the Jibaro territory, but at present there is at least one tribe between this river and the river Tigre. Similarly, in the north there is a Jibaro tribe on the Rio Copataza, a small northern affluent of the upper Pastaza. South of the Marañon, just opposite the mouth of the Rio Santiago, there is in our days the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Aguaruna, but these Aguarunas seem to have originally formed part

1: Karsten--1 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 101 (1928-29)

of the great Huambiza tribe on the Morona, north of the upper Marañon. The Aguarunas are thus the only Jibaro tribe living in Peru. The regions round the rivers Upano-Santiago, Morona, and their affluents, as well as the geographically little known primeval forests between the Morona and the Pastaza, are populated by numerous tribes of the same great Indian race."

1: Karsten--1-2 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 161 (1928-29)

"Since some of the regions inhabited by the [2] Jibaros are geographically unexplored and the different tribes live very scattered, their total number is difficult to estimate. In our days they may well number 10 to 15 thousand souls. We know however that the Jibaros were formerly far more numerous than they are at present and that they are rapidly diminishing owing to contact with the whites and still more owing to the wars of extermination which the different tribes are constantly waging upon each other."

1: Karsten--2 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-2
116, 172 (1928-29)

"....we know that the dominions of the Jibaros have not always been confined to the virgin forests of Eastern Ecuador. There are certain regions of the Ecuadorian Sierra, but even the coast regions of the provinces Esmeraldas, Manabí, Los Rios, Gayas, as well as the Peruvian department Túmbez (1). Thus it appears that the Paltas, a people

---

"1. See Jijón y Caamaño, in Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de estudios historicos Americanos, No: 6, Mayo-Junio, 1919, Quito-Ecuador, p. 387. In support of this theory Sr. Jijon adduces partly linguistic, partly ethnographic evidence. In western Ecuador there are several small rivers the names of which end with sa or za, which seems to indicate that they are of Jibaro origin (Labaza, Taguaza, Pastaza, and others). Rivet and Beuchat erroneously explain this termination as an abbreviation of the Jibaro word intsa, 'river'. In reality it is an abbreviation of the onomatopoeic word sasa, which means 'streaming water', 'water-fall'. The names of these rivers thus seem to show that the Jibaros once lived in these regions. This, however, is not quite certain since the onomatopoeic word sasa may occur in different Indian languages. In fact, in the Quichua language it occurs in the form sas. The other linguistic derivations adduced by Sr. Jijón are quite arbitrary and prove nothing, and of the ethnographic evidence, only the fact that head-trophies similar to those of the Jibaros have been known to the Indians of the coast, deserves attention."

1: Karsten--2 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 172 (1928-29)

which in the 16th century lived in the neighbourhood of the town Loja in southern Ecuador, were Jibaros. It is quite possible that this powerful nation has exerted a certain cultural influence upon other Indian tribes with which they have come in contact. Thus there is archeological evidence which seems to show that shrunken head-trophies of the same kind as are still in vogue among the Jibaros were formerly known to the coast tribes in both Ecuador and Peru (2). If some of these tribes formerly practised his peculiar custom, it seems to me probable that they borrowed it from the Jibaros."

---

"2. Jijón y Caamaño, *op. cit.*, p. 388."

1: Karsten--2-3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"The different Jibaro tribes generally take their names from the small affluents of the main rivers, on the banks of which they have fixed their homes. This fact explains the great number of Indian names that [3] we meet in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. Thus on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorian Andes, in the regions round the river Santiago and its tributaries, we find such tribes as the Arapicos, the Chirapas, the Upanos, the Pautes, the Santiagos, the Gualaquizas. On the Morona, there are the Cusulimas, the Huambizas, etc.; on the Pastaza, the Copatazas, the Achuares, the Antipas, and so forth.

All these tribes belong to the Jibaro race and are consequently closely related to each other anthropologically as well as in their language, customs, and beliefs. There is no larger group of Indians of which the Jibaros form a part. Both anthropologically and linguistically they form a group of their own, in their physical and their mental characteristics greatly differing from the tribes surrounding them. Their culture is certainly one of the most important and interesting native cultures at present existing in the whole of South America."

1: Karsten--3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although the Jibaros have been in contact with the whites for many centuries, and although repeated attempts have been made to 'civilize' them, they have been able to maintain both their political and their cultural independence up to the present time. Only in their material culture can European influence be traced, although to a very limited extent. Their intellectual culture and their social customs have remained unaltered. Thus, for instance, the custom of head-hunting, which has made the Jibaros especially famous, is still practised in its original form among most tribes, being connected with rites and ceremonies of exceptional interest. Similarly, in their religion they are, as far as I can see, quite unaffected by Christian ideas, notwithstanding the assiduous efforts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them."

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro J-11
116, 175 (1928-29)

"As to the history of the Jibaros, only a few dates may be given here. The Jibaros are mentioned for the first time in history in connection with the war of conquest which the Inca Tupac Yupanqui made against the kingdom of Quito about 1450. In southern Ecuador, in the province now called Azuay, the Peruvian conqueror had to fight the Cañaris, who are said to have had the Jibaros of Macas for their allies. The Cañaris were vanquished, but the Jibaros probably retired to their forests, retaining their liberty. Tupac Yupanqui's son, Huayna Capac, following up the scheme of his father to conquer Ecuador, also made an attempt to vanquish the Jibaros. He descended to the province of Bracamoros in the basin of the Rio Chinchipe, but, his troops being decimated both by the unhealthy climate and by the attacks of the savages, he was [4] obliged to retire quickly. The Incas thus failed to subdue the Jibaros, although they nominally formed part of the kingdom Huayna Capac founded in Ecuador.

The Jibaros are frequently mentioned in connection with expeditions made into the unknown eastern regions after the Spanish conquest, which began in 1534. About 1550 the Government of Macas was founded, and at this time the Spaniards gained a footing in the country of the Jibaros, although the Indians remained independent. But in 1552, when a bloody war was being carried on between the tribes of the Paute and the tribes of the Morona, the Spaniards availed themselves of the opportunity and sent their troops to take possession of the territory of the Paute. The Jibaros resisted in vain; they were obliged to surrender to the intruders and allow them to found the pretty village Logroño on the left bank of the river of the same name. About that time the village Mendoza was founded on the left bank of the Palora, and the great Sevilla de Oro, the capital of the whole province, on the right bank of the Upano; at the same time other regions inhabited by the Jibaros were explored. The most remarkable expedition was that undertaken by Juan de Salinas, the Governor of Macas, in 1557. Starting from Loja, he crossed the cordillera, and founded successively the villages Valladolid, Loyola, Santiago de Montañas, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva. Thereafter he embarked on the Santiago, went down to the Marañon, passed the Pongo de Manseriche, the mouths of the Morona, and the Pastaza, and made a trip up the Ucayali, whereupon he returned to Loja.

Thus several large villages with a numerous population -- Sevilla de Oro is said to have had nearly 25,000 inhabitants--had been founded in the midst of the Jibaro country, and it is natural that the Indians by and by became subject to the white newcomers, a state which soon became almost intolerable. The Spaniards in Eastern Ecuador inaugurated the same condemnable colonial policy as in other parts of South America, treated the natives as a conquered race, and compelled them to work in the gold and silver mines. The consequence was that the Indian population in these regions began to diminish rapidly, some of the natives dying in the mines, others

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 175 (1928-29)

fleeing to the impenetrable forests in the interior of the country. The general indignation on account of the numerous abuses by the Spaniards found vent in repeated rebellions. The most disastrous in its consequences was the one which took place in 1599. The coronation of King Philip III in this year gave the Governor [5] of Macas a pretext for exacting a great tribute in gold from his whole province. The Jibaros, alarmed on account of this unjust demand, rose under the chief Quiruba, who succeeded in uniting all the Jibaro tribes on the Upano, Paute, Santiago, and Morona against the common enemy. On a fixed day 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño, the whole population of which was massacred with the exception of the children and the younger women, who spent the rest of their days as the wives of their captors. The village itself was plundered and burnt. Thereupon the Indians marched to Sevilla de Oro, where the majority of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The villagers made a desperate resistance and the assailants were at last obliged to retire, having nevertheless, as we are told, killed no less than three-fourths of the inhabitants. They moreover succeeded in setting fire to the village, which was totally destroyed. Of the ancient great capital of the province Macas there is in our days scarcely a trace. But on the right bank of the Upano, not very far from the place where the ancient capital Sevilla de Oro stood, was founded later the village Macas which still exists, and the inhabitants of which are probably in part descendants of the Spaniards who survived the destruction of Sevilla de Oro.

The Jibaros had thus regained their independence, and all the punitive expeditions were ineffectual. But the supposed richness in precious metals of the eastern regions always attracted the avarice of the Spaniards, and in the seventeenth century we have to note several attempts to found new colonies in the country of the Jibaros and to 'placate' the Indians. In 1619 the corregidor of Yaguarzongo, Diego Vaca de Vega, with a party of 68 armed men and many Indians, embarked on the Santiago and went down to the Marañon, and founded on the left bank of this river the village San Francisco de Borga. On his return he was appointed Governor of Macas by the Viceroy of Peru, his particular task being the pacification of the Jibaros. His son and successor as Governor of Macas in 1645 sent two Franciscan monks who, from Cuenca, penetrated into the jibarias. This expedition, though in itself fruitless, was still remarkable as being one of the first attempts to win the Jibaros by more peaceful methods than those hitherto practised by the Spaniards. A few years earlier the Jesuits had begun their missionary work in the remoter parts of the Ecuadorian Oriente, having founded the great Mission of Maynas in 1642. Both the Jesuits and the Franciscans however failed in their attempts to 'reduce' the Jibaros, the chief cause of their failure being their unwise policy in cooperating in expeditions [6] sent by the Spanish government and pursuing purely military and economic ends. The expeditions sent to the country of the Jibaros were in fact half military, half religious. Two of them deserve particular mention of which the one was undertaken in 1656, the other in 1692. As to the first one, Martin de la Riva, Governor of Cajamarca, wishing to take possession of the rich territories north of the Marañon, sent an army of 100 soldiers, who were reinforced by a number of armed Indians from the province of Mainas, to the district inhabited by the Jibaros. The Jesuits, thinking it possible 'to serve at once the divine and the human Majesty', sent Father Raimundo Santa Cruz to join the expedition. Starting from the Huallaga and going up the Marañon, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Santiago, where it came into contact with the Jibaros. The suspicious savages seem at first to have listened with a certain confidence, to the emphatic declarations of the Father that he and his party only visited them with the best intentions, and they even promised to settle themselves in a village and to receive the teaching of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, however, the Spanish soldiers began meanwhile to ask the Indians about the gold and silver mines existing in their country. The suspicion of the natives was instantly aroused. Thinking that the real intention of the whites was to compel them to work in the mines, they precipitately fled to the interior of the forests, thereafter announcing their presence only in the form of attacks which they made on the soldiers from their ambuscades.

Still more characteristic of the Spanish method of civilising the savage Indians is the expedition undertaken in 1692. This year Father Lucero entered the country of the Jibaros with a small fleet, avoiding, however, a directly warlike attitude towards them, 'thinking it possible to achieve more among the Jibaros with kindness than with open violence'. The only result of this expedition was the formation of a small village called Naranjo, which soon ceased to exist. But in the same year a greater attempt was made on the part of the government. Rumours about the gold of the Jibaros had reached even the court of Madrid, and a royal order was dispatched to Quito that a great expedition should be sent to the Oriente for the purpose of bringing the Jibaros definitely under Spanish rule. The leader of the expedition was the Captain of Mainas, Jeronimo Vacas, who was accompanied by the Superintendent of the missions, Father Viva. A regular fleet of canoes was assembled at Borja for the transportation of the army which consisted of no less than 900 armed Indians of different tribes and nearly [7] 100 Spanish soldiers. The fleet went up the Santigo and the troops encamped at a small affluent of the same river. Now a real man-hunt began. The soldiers had captured 21 members of a party of Jibaro Indians who had been engaged in celebrating a head-feast. The rest of the party escaped and soon brought the news of the arrival of the Spaniards to other Jibaro tribes in the neighbourhood, thus giving them time to take precautions. The Spanish army, divided into smaller parties, roamed the

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 175 (1928-29)

forests in all directions trying to catch the Jibaros wherever they found them, and taking all that they could get hold of to their headquarters. The Indians fled before the troops, concealing themselves in the thickets of the wood and making repeated attacks on them from their ambuscades. The result was that in five months the expedition only succeeded in catching 372 persons, among whom were numerous children. The latter were instantly baptized, and the captives were then sent to the village of Borja and to another missionary station. Many of them, however, succeeded in escaping and fled back to their forests, others committed suicide, and mothers were even seen strangling their babes with their own hands to liberate them from the destiny of slavery awaiting them. The result of this expedition, so carefully prepared, was thus practically nil, and we are told that the Viceroy of Peru, realising the futility of such attempts, prohibited similar raids for the future.

It is not until the latter half of the following century that we hear of a new attempt on the part of the Catholic missionaries to 'reduce' the Jibaros. Once more it was the Jesuits who took the field. In 1767 Father Camacho, wishing to enlarge the limits of the Mission of Mainas towards the west, went among the Jibaros inhabiting the regions between the Pastaza and the Morona, and coming without any other white men he gradually succeeded in gaining the confidence and even the friendship of the Indians. They declared themselves willing to receive the Catholic missionaries, and the Father

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 175 (1928-29)

himself was able to baptize about 200 children. But the promising mission work thus begun was soon interrupted by the expulsion ot [sic] the Jesuits from the Ecuadorian Oriente in 1768. The missions founded by them fell into decay or were given over to Franciscans or other Catholic priests.

The wars of independence, which began in 1809 in Ecuador, and the political disorders following them gave neither the secular authorities nor the Church any time to think of the subjection or conversion of the heathen. In all the first part of the nineteenth century no expedition of importance was made to the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. But in [8] 1869, when the president Garcia Moreno allowed the Jesuits to return to their ancient missions in Eastern Ecuador, the work of evangelization was again begun, although with as little success as before so far as the Jibaros were concerned. The anti-clerical president, Alfaro, expelled the Jesuits in 1895 from those parts of the Oriente where they were still active, but other Catholic missionaries of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Salesian orders stayed there, without attaining any visible results. Various attempts have been made to found mission stations or Catholic schools among the tribes living round the Rio Santiago and its tributaries, but they have all been of short duration; this may be said, for instance, of the school established by the Franciscan de Lasplanes on the Rio Arapicos in 1888, and by the

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 175 (1928-29)

Dominican Vacas Galindo on the Upano in 1890. In 1915 Dominican monks from the village of Canelos founded a new mission among the Jibaros of the Rio Arapicos. The Indians here 'reduced' were members of different families which had been attacked by their enemies and had taken the refuge in the mission. For Christianity and 'civilisation' they seemed to have no interest, and it is almost certain that they will use the first opportunity to regain their former independent life.

Besides this mission, which is still at work, there is one more on the Rio Santiago founded by monks of the Salesian order.

Protestant missionaries have also been working among the Jibaros. In the year 1902 the Gospel Missionary Union of the U.S.A. decided to undertake a mission in this field, and sent Mr. Freeland down to Macas on the Upano. He was reinforced by the arrival of Mr. Olson in 1905, who was still at work among the Jibaros in 1919. But it seems to me that these Protestant missionaries, lacking the experience and psychological eye of their Catholic colleagues, have had still less success in their work than the latter. At any rate there were not, at the time of my stay among the Indians of the Upano, any converted Indians in this region, nor do I believe that these Indians will ever voluntarily embrace any form of Christianity. The only thing they wish is to retain their political and mental independence.

Still the Jibaros at present live on a friendly footing with the whites and allow them to travel freely through their country, finding the trade with them useful. On the other hand, both the mestizos of Macas and the rubber merchants who sometimes visit their country have as a rule taken care not to repeat the abuses of former times. There have been a few exceptions to this rule, as is shown for instance by the wars [9] which the Huambizas have, in recent years, fought with Peruvian soldiers and which will presently be mentioned.

It seems to me necessary to know these main facts from the history of the Jibaros in order fully to understand their present character. With the same heroism as they displayed in defending themselves against the attempts of the Spaniards to subjugate them politically, they have resisted the repeated attempts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them, as if instinctively knowing that the introduction of Christian civil-

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-II
116, 175 (1928-29)

ization among Indians means the beginning of political slavery and cultural degeneration. (1)"

---

"1. The short history of the Jibaro Indians given by me here is founded on the following works: Chantre y Herrera, *Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesús en el Marañon español*. Madrid, 1901. Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de la compañia de Jesús en el pais de los Maynas*. Madrid, 1904. Gonzalez Suarez, *Estudio historia sobre los Cañaris*. Quito, 1878. Idem, *Historia general de la republica del Ecuador*, vol. VI. Quito, 1903. Vacas Galindo, *Nankijukima*. Ambato, 1895. Idem, *La integridad territorial de la republica del Ecuador*. Quito, 1905.[sic] The statements which refer to the history of the Jibaros during the present century are founded on my personal observations and inquiries."

1: Karsten--9-10 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-2
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaro tribes I include, as a particular sub-tribe, the Canelos Indians, and this may seem to require a special explanation. The village of Canelos is the greatest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in the Ecuadorian Oriente. The Indians living in this region are not pure Jibaros, as they are erroneously described by Rivet, and do not form a homogeneous group. They are a mixed race, formed partly by Indians of Jibaro origin, partly by Quichua-speaking Indians from the Sierra, partly by Zàparos from the Rio Curaray and the Rio Tigre. Among the Jibaros who in former times moved into Canelos and subjected themselves to the influence of the Catholic missionaries three important families or clans are particularly mentioned, namely, the Gayas, the Tanchimas, and the Cuhis. These as well as other Jibaro families have fused with the other tribes, thus giving rise to the peculiar native race known under the name of Canelos Indians. Their anthropological affinity with the mountain Indians shows itself especially in their strong build of body, whereas their close relationship with the Jibaros proper is made manifest in their whole material and intellectual culture. It is owing to this fact that I treat them here in connection with the Jibaros. On the other hand, in many of their customs and beliefs they have also been influenced by their relatives in the Sierra, with whom moreover they have a com-

1: Karsten--9-10 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
136, 101, 171 (1928-29)

mon lan-[10] guage. Their language consequently is Quichua, although some of them also speak or understand the *Jibaro* language. The native words and phrases I use in this book when describing the culture of the Canelos Indians are therefore Quichua, just as those used by me with reference to the *Jibaros* proper belong to the *Jibaro* language.

The Canelos Indians number about 2000 individuals. They live partly in the mission of Canelos, partly in the village Pacayacu, situated two days journey by canoe farther down the river. Besides this, among the Canelos Indians are generally reckoned the Indians of Sarayacu, a village situated three days journey southwards from Pacayacu. These Indians, however, as is shown by their physical appearance, originally belonged to a different native race.

All the so-called Canelos Indians are now Christians in name, being under the influence of the Catholic monks of the Dominican Order, but as usual they have preserved many of their ancient customs and beliefs. Formerly, when the Indians of Canelos were at war with the wild *Jibaros*, they adopted their savage methods of fighting their enemies, and even head-feasts are said to have been celebrated in secret. And although witchcraft certainly plays a great role among the *Jibaros*, the wizards of Canelos are supposed to outdo even their heathen colleagues in this mysterious art."

1: Karsten--10-13 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-6
116, 114 (1928-29)

"A few words may be said as to previous publications which treat of the customs of the Jibaro Indians. The Catholic missionaries who in former times had dealings with these savages have given no information whatever about their customs and beliefs. It is only from the last century that we have some information of this kind, but since the men who visited them were only passing travellers --geographical explorers or business men--the data given by them have naturally been founded on very superficial observation and mainly concern the material culture of these savages. The famous custom of the Jibaros of preparing trophies of the heads of their slain enemies has of course attracted the attention of many travellers, and such a trophy is now to be found in most ethnographic museums in Europe and America. But the ideas underlying this custom and the complicated rites and ceremonies with which the capture of a head is celebrated had never been really described and explained until I published my detailed account of the wars and victory feasts of the Jibaros, mentioned below. This monograph, revised and enlarged in certain points, is incorporated in this work. Among publications from [11] the 19th and the beginning of this century in which the culture of the Jibaro Indians is touched upon or some information is given about them the following may be mentioned: -- Osculati, *Esplorazione delle regioni equatoriali* (Milano, 1854); Villavicencio, *Geografia de la Republica del Ecuador* (New York, 1858); Bollaert, 'The

Jivaro Indians of Ecuador', in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, Vol. II, pp. 112-118 (London, 1863); Gonzalez Suarez, *Estudio Historico sobre los Cañaris* (Quito, 1878); Reiss, 'Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern', in *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin*, Bd. VII, pp. 325-337 (Berlin, 1880); Ordinaire, *Les sauvages du Perou* (Revue d'Ethnographie. T. VI. Paris, 1887); E. Vacas Galindo, *Nankijukima; religion, usos y costumbres de los salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador* (Ambato, 1895); F. Gonzalez Suarez, *Historia general de la republica del Ecuador*, Vol. VI (Quito, 1903); Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el pais de los Maynas* (Madrid, 1904); v. Hassel, 'Las tribus salvajes de la region amazonica del Peru' (*Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, Vol. XVII, Lima, 1905) Rivet, *Les indiens Jibaros* (L'Anthropologie, Vols. XVIII and XIX, Paris, 1907, 1908).

The information we gather from most of these works is not only very scanty but--what is still worse--to a great extent untrustworthy. Of general accounts founded on first hand observation, that of v. Hassel seems to me to be the most important, although it only refers to the tribes of the lower Pastaza and the Aguarunas of Peru. Gonzalez Suarez, the Archbishop of Quito, although he never visited the Jibaros in their own land, gives, in his historical work, valuable information concerning the history of these Indians and describes their head-hunting practices as far as they were known when he wrote. On the other hand, Vacas Galindo's Nankijukima is a novel and worthless as an ethnological source. It is written by a Dominican monk who lived for some years at the village of Macas in the immediate neighbourhood of the Jibaros and certainly had good opportunities of studying the customs of the natives. But it is evidently never meant to give a true account of the culture of the Jibaros, and the errors in the details are in any case sufficiently numerous to deprive it of every scientific value. Besides this, the author's view of the social morality and religion of the Indians is obviously influenced by theological prejudice.

Rivet's monograph on the Jibaro Indians is only a compilation based on the untrustworthy writings of travellers and missionaries who at [12] different times have lived amongst them. Rivet never himself visited these savages in their own land and never saw any other Indians of this tribe than two individuals, who happened to come to the town of Riobamba in central Ecuador while Rivet was there. A few observations, made by Rivet relating to the physical anthropology of these two individuals have, of course, little importance from a scientific point of view as far as the whole tribe is concerned. Similarly, it is difficult to understand on what ground Rivet claims, for instance, to have been able to indicate 'almost exactly', the dwelling-places of the different Jibaro tribes, or considers himself entitled to assert categorically that the Jibaros in all reckon 'no less than 20,000 individuals'. (1) If the real dwelling-places and the total number of the Jibaros can only be ascertained with difficulty even by one who like myself has roamed through the Jibaro country in all directions, this must clearly be impossible to one who has not visited these inaccessible regions at all. Taken as a whole Rivet's book is useless as a source concerning the Jibaros. This particularly holds true of the part dealing with their intellectual culture, which to a great extent is based on Vacas Galindo's novel, just characterized by me. But even the first part of it, dealing with the material culture of these Indians, is greatly wanting in exactness.

During the last ten years a couple of works have appeared in which the Jibaros are dealt with. Thus, in W. C. Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru (1922) a chapter is devoted to this important Indian tribe. In the beginning of his article Farabee himself says: 'I was unable to visit the Jibaros in their own country to make personal observations, but was fortunate to find at Iquitos, Peru, Sr. F. T. Muniz, who lived and travelled for some years among this people, and who gave me much information regarding them.' 'Sr. Muniz' is probably a rubber merchant of the type well known

---

"1. Rivet, Travaux scientifiques de P. Rivet, Paris, 1927."

to every traveller in the interior of tropical South America. How reliable such men generally are as informants on Indian custom, one can easily imagine even without knowing it from personal experience. Whereas Farabee's chapter on the Jibaros does not contain a single new fact on these Indians, it is on the other hand impaired by several serious errors which makes its scientific value more than doubtful. Thus when Farabee states (p. 122) that 'some tribes preserve the heads of their friends as well as those of their enemies, but women's heads are never preserved', this one sentence contains two [13] grave errors. First, the transformation of a human head into a *tsantsa* implies a deadly insult not only to the dead man himself but also to his whole tribe, and the Jibaros consequently apply that method exclusively to mortal enemies in other tribes. Secondly, it may be deplorable, but is still an indisputable fact that the Jibaros frequently prepared trophies of women's heads also.

As to the Jibaro myths with which Farabee's chapter ends, it may be proper to point out that they do not proceed from Sr. Muniz, but are direct English translations from my own treatise *Mitos de los indios Jibaros* (*Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos*, Vol. II. Quito, 1919), a source not mentioned in Farabee's chapter.

F. W. Up de Graff's book *Bei den Kopfjägern des Amazonas* (Leipzig, 1924), although only a popular book of travels written by a merchant, is of interest in so far

1: Karsten--10-11 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 114 (1928-29)

as its author, according to his own assertion, had an opportunity to watch the behaviour of the Indians when they were on the war-path. Although it seems to me doubtful whether the author has really seen with his own eyes everything that he tells about, there is still substantial agreement between his statements as to the savage lust of murder displayed by the Indians on these occasions and the minute descriptions which I have myself received from Indian chiefs who had taken part in war expeditions. For my own part I did not see how the Jibaros behave in the battle, but instead of that I had the advantage of being present at their great victory feasts. (1)"

---

"1. As in other similar popular books, G. M. Dyott has, in his *On the Trail of the Unknown* (London, 1926), in two chapters dealt with the culture of the Jibaro Indians. I deem it necessary, howerer, [sic] to point out that the data given by Dyott as to certain religious ideas and other customs of the Jibaros are directly taken from my *Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts of the Jibaro Indians*--without the source being mentioned. In a few cases, however, Dyott tries to go his own way, making erroneous statements which show how little he knows the Jibaro culture. --On a much higher level as a popular book of travels is K. G. Grubb's *Amazon and Andes* (London, 1930), where the Jibaro Indians (Aguarunas) are also shortly but correctly treated of."

1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-3
116, 121 (1928-29)

"In this work I present the results of these researches, which were carried out in the years 1916-1918 and 1928-1929. Of the four years that I have travelled in Western Amazonas about three have been spent in close contact with the Jibaros. During repeated visits among different Jibaro tribes I tried to acquire as complete a knowledge as possible of their whole material and intellect-[14] ual culture, including their religion, mythology, and language. For this purpose I made a point, first of all, of studying such Jibaro tribes as, besides being comparatively easy of access, have most faithfully preserved the ancient customs and beliefs of the people. These, it seems to me, are the tribes living between the rivers Upano and Morona, which are the most numerous in the Ecuadorian Oriente and, in spite of their contact with the whites, have wonderfully resisted the influence of civilization. Among these tribes I have in fact spent most of my time, making excursions in different directions from the village of Macas on the Upano, which for a long time served as the basis for my research. I also frequently visited the northern Jibaro tribes living beside the small rivers Copataza, Arapicos, and Chiguaza, affluents of the upper Rio Pastaza. A special expedition was, moreover, undertaken to the distant Achuares, a savage Jibaro tribe inhabiting the geographically little known regions between the Pastaza and the Morona. The main object of this expedition was to inquire how far the culture of the Pastaza tribes differs from that of the Jibaro tribes living between the Upano and the Morona.

1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 121 (1928-29)

Repeated visits were made to the Quichua-speaking Indians of Canelos on the *river* Bobonaza, who are closely related to the *Jibaros* proper. Lastly, in 1929 I made an expedition to the Aguarunas at the Rio Apaga, south of the Marañon, and was able to establish their affinity with the Huambisas on the Morona. My project to visit the latter Indians on the same expedition could not be realised. The Huambisas were at that time very hostile to the whites and, besides that, had been greatly decimated owing to wars with Peruvian soldiers. "In 1915 a Peruvian garrison at the upper Morona had been treacherously attacked by the Indians who were enraged on account of some offence, and the majority of the soldiers massacred. In 1928, shortly before I arrived in Ecuador the last time, there had been a new encounter between the Huambisas and the Peruvians in which a great many of the Indians had been killed. I was told that on the upper Morona there were now only a few families left of the Huambisas, who had formerly been one of the most numerous of the *Jibaro* tribes. Besides this, the Huambisas had been at war with their own kinsmen, the Aguarunas, who had in consequence retired from the Morona to the regions south of the Marañon. It seemed to me therefore of little use to visit the Huambisa Indians, the culture of which, as I had been able to establish before, is the same as that of the *Jibaros* on the Upano. [15]

However that may be, I have during my three years of travel among different

1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 121 (1928-29)

Jibaro tribes been able to take a fairly complete survey of the whole Jibaro culture of which a full account is given here."

1: Karsten--15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 127 (1928-29)

"Since this work is wholly founded on my own investigations and personal observations of Indian life, I very seldom refer to the writings of other travellers, and only in exceptional cases shall I correct such mistakes as I have found in the litterature on the Jibaros.

A considerable part of my results have been previously published in the following essays and works: --'Mitos de los indios Jibaros (Shuāra) del Oriente del Ecuador', in Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos, No: 6. Quito-Ecuador, 1919; Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora, I:3. Abo, 1920; Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der südamerikanischen Indianer (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora, I:4). Abo 1920; 'The Religion of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador', in Boletin de la Academia Nacional de Historia, Vol. iv., Nos. 10 and 11. Quito-Ecuador, 1922; La lengua de los indios Jibaros (Shuāra) del Oriente del Ecuador (Oversikt av Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar. Bd. LXIV. 1921-1922); Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory-Feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 79. Washington, 1923. The Civilization of the South American Indians. (London, Kegan Paul, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926); Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum. III. 2, 1930)."

1: Karsten--15-16 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"It should be taken into consideration that travelling in Western Amazonas, and especially in Eastern Ecuador, is connected with tremendous difficulties owing to the bad condition of the roads, or more correctly speaking, the complete lack of roads, a fact which, of course, is apt to make such journeys physically extremely trying. ...the Jibaros, regarding the whites as their natural enemies, always receive a visitor with great distrust. It has indeed been said that their hatred of the whites and their warlike and treacherous character makes it a very perilous enterprise for a white man to go among them, since he can never live safely in their midst. I have found this opinion exaggerated; the hostility of the Jibaros as a [16] rule only turns against those who have actually done them harm. From my own experience I am able to testify that for a white man who approaches the Indians peaceably it is quite possible even to acquire their friendship. But on the other hand it is quite natural that a savage race, systematically ill-treated and abused for many centuries by 'civilized' European adventurers, should inevitably look upon every new-comer of the white race with suspicion, and that only gradually can he earn their confidence. The Jibaros as a rule do not like white strangers visiting them, and when they do receive them they expect the guests to leave as soon as possible. The questions with which one is almost invariable [sic] received are, 'Why do you come to us?', and 'When will you leave?', and -- last but not least--'Do you bring sickness with you?' The last question is particularly characteristic of the Jib-

1: Karsten--17 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 123 (1928-29)

"....the basis for my studies of the Jibaros living on the Upano has been the village of Macas, the inhabitants of which --mestizos partly of Jibaro origin--live in close contact with the Indians. Some of the 'Macabeos' know the Jibaro language well, and it was a great help for me that in the beginning I could use them as companions and interpreters on my trips to the Indians. But since it is obvious to me that the culture of an uncivilized people can be properly studied only by one who knows its language, I started learning the Jibaro language from the very beginning, just as I had earlier learned the Quichua language, and within a comparatively short time knew it sufficiently well to be able to converse with the Indians on common topics. I may say that after I gained the confidence of my savage hosts I found them as a rule excellent informants, very willing to tell almost everything I asked them about, and accurate even in small details. Although I have been present at the most important feasts of the Jibaros and know much from personal experience, there are still of course certain customs which I have not witnessed with my own eyes but only know through the accounts of the Indians. In such cases I always tried to verify the statements of one informant by those made independently by another, the substantial agreement between them being to me a confirmation of their truth. In the same way I have been anxious always to verify the information incidentally given by the inhabitants of Macas or by white settlers living in the country of the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-4
116, 121 (1928-29)

"My researches among the Jibaros--just as my previous ethnological studies in the Gran Chaco--have been carried out according to the principle 'intensive study of limited areas', and I am convinced that this is the only right method to be followed for the purpose of obtaining ethnological results of scientific value. Not even the material culture of a people can be properly studied during a visit of a few days or weeks; for a right understanding of it a knowledge of the whole psychology of that people is necessary which, again, can only be acquired during a prolonged stay among them. From considerations of space I am compelled to condense my description of the material culture of the Jibaros as much [18] as possible. Still it will, I hope, clearly appear to the reader to what extent for instance the industrial art of the Indians, their agricultural and hunting practices, war customs, and a great many other customs and occupations which to us have a purely practical or social significance are permeated by magical and religious ideas. To such extent in fact is this the case, that those parts of my book which deal with the material culture and social life of the Jibaros will at the same time throw much interesting light upon their religion. --Apart from the limitation just mentioned, it has been my aim to study the social organization, the customs and beliefs of the Indians in every detail, since it is precisely the details that have value for comparative ethnology and sociology and alone give us the means of penetrating into the psychology of a primitive people.

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 121 (1928-29)

In studying various rites and customs of the Indians I have, moreover, not been content with ascertaining the external facts, but I have, as far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying these customs, the reasons why they are practised. The importance of discovering the motives prompting the Indians to practise a certain custom is quite obvious, and every reader of my work will find that without knowing them, many facts recorded by me would remain unintelligible and be likely to be entirely misunderstood. Thus--to mention one instance--who could understand the peculiar rules of fasting observed by the Jibaros unless the curious line of thought upon which they are founded were exactly indicated by themselves? It has sometimes been said that savage peoples as a rule do not know themselves why they practise a certain custom, and that it is useless to inquire about the ideas which have lead them to it, since these may have been forgotten long ago. This remark does not, at any rate hold true of the Jibaros. On the contrary, what struck me greatly during my investigations was the accuracy with which most older members of the Jibaro community were able to assign the motives underlying social customs and religious rites. Consequently the explanations offered by me as to these customs and rites are almost invariably given by the Indians themselves and may therefore be regarded as ethnological facts. Where, on the other hand, my interpretation is only my own conjecture, this is expressly indicated. My chief object in this work, however, has not been to present theories but to state bare facts.

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 121 (1928-29)

Those of my readers who are interested in knowing how the facts here stated with regard to the Jibaros fit into the whole system of native ideas, customs, and institutions which we can trace in South America, [19] I beg to refer to my work The Civilization of the South American Indians (1).

When I say that most older members are able to assign the motives underlying customs and rites, this statement requires some further explanation. Old persons certainly possess the best knowledge of such things; but there are some customs which only old men know about, and others respecting which only old women can give information. It may be important to point out this expressly. When I started upon my first expedition to South America in 1911 one of the leading ethnologists of England gave me the advice never to have dealings with the women among the tribes I visited. 'They know nothing', he added, 'and it only arouses the jealousy of the men when one enters into conversation with the women'. Both in the Chaco and in Western Amazonas I have in fact obtained some of my best information from the women, who turned out to be equally as good informants on Indian customs as the men, sometimes even better. This particularly holds

---

"1. Kegan Paul & C:o, London, 1926. A. Knopf. New York."

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 121 (1928-29)

true of the Jibaros, among whom the women play the main part at certain important ceremonies and consequently alone are able to give detailed information about them. Of this kind are, for instance the customs connected with agriculture and the ceremonies performed at 'the feast of the women'. The songs or prayers which on these occasions are addressed to the great Earth-mother Nungüi form the exclusive intellectual property of the women, whom consequently the ethnologist has to address if he wants to obtain detailed information about them.

It is of course conceivable that in some cases the real origin of a custom may have been partly or wholly forgotten and that a new explanation has been substituted for the idea from which it has originally sprung. I have reason to believe that this has only exceptionally been the case with the Jibaros. One of the advantages which the study of a great and independent people like the Jibaros offers is that the ideas upon which its customs and ceremonies are founded can as a rule be regarded as genuine and, in a relative sense, 'primitive'. However this may be, my aim has only been to find out the present meaning attached to the customs recorded by me."

1: Karsten--20 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

".....the Jibaros have been very little influenced by Christian civilization, so they have very few culture elements which are obviously loans from other peoples. Still, as we have seen, the origin of the Jibaro culture is obscure--just like the ethnic origin of the whole Jibaro race--and we have no means of tracing its first development. In any case, it is a fact that the Indians are very proud of their own culture, extremely conservative in keeping up their ancient customs 'handed down from their ancestors', as they say themselves, and averse to innovations of whatever kind they may be. This conservative character of the Jibaros accounts for the fact that their native culture has, at least in its principal traits, been preserved up to our days. But such a state of things cannot of course continue for long. In the most recent years there have appeared signs which seem to show that civilization is making rapid progress even in these remote parts of South America, and that at any rate the Upano and the Morona tribes are gradually losing the independence they have hitherto enjoyed. If this is so, it is no exaggeration to say that this exceptionally interesting Indian culture will soon be a thing of the past, and that it is in the last hour that the studies have been carried out..."

1: Karsten--23 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116 (1928-29)

"In South America, as far as I can see, three main types of Indian culture can be distinguished: first, the mountain culture, represented by such peoples as the ancient Incas in Peru, the Chibchas in Colombia, and the Araucanians in Chile; secondly, the Chaco culture, represented not only by the Chaco tribes proper, but also by the natives of Tierra del Fuego; and thirdly, the culture peculiar to the tropical virgin forests. The Chaco culture was studied by me during my first expedition to South America in 1911-1913, the results of it being published in *Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco*, 1932. During the travels with which I am concerned in the present work I made it my particular object to study an Indian culture characteristic of the tropical virgin forests of Western Amazonas, and such a one I found in the Jibaro culture."

1: Karsten--23-24 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"I arrived in Ecuador in August 1916, proceeding from Panama. It was during the great war, and I had in many respects to experience the obstacles such a war puts in the way even of a peaceful traveller and explorer. The Ecuadorian government and the authorities in general, however, showed me great complaisance and courtesy, and official letters of recommendation were given me which facilitated my journeys in the Oriente. I shall always gratefully remember the valuable services which were rendered me by the Chilean minister in Ecuador, Señor Victor Eastman-Cox, who among other things introduced me to members of the Ecuadorian government. Still more do I feel obliged to a man whom the expressions of my gratitude can no longer reach, namely, the Swedish Consul in Quito, Mr. Ludovico Söderström. During the whole time of my first long residence in Ecuador 'Don Ludovico' was a great help to me, among other things by keeping my ethnographic collections, which were destined for the museum of Gothenburg, Sweden. On some [24] of my short sojourns in Quito I was kindly invited to stay in Mr. Söderströms house. When I visited the country on my second expedition to Ecuador and Peru, my old friend was no more. He had died one year previously, in 1927, at an age of no less than 87 years, of which nearly 60 had been spent in Ecuador."

1: Karsten--24-26 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-4
116 (1928-29)

"My first excursion in Ecuador was, not to the Oriente, but to the West, to the Colorado Indians living in the neighbourhood of Santo Domingo, about four days journey from the capital of Quito. The time of the year when I arrived in the country was not suitable for travelling in the Eastern Province, because it was still the rainy season or 'winter' in those regions. The seasons in general are very peculiar in Western Amazonas. Not even in the Andean mountain area can there be any question of a winter or summer in a European sense, and only in the West is a real distinction between a rainy and a dry season noticeable. The former begins in September or October and continues until May, when the 'summer', characterized by persistent drought, sets in. In the Ecuadorian Oriente, on the other hand, there does not exist any dry season in the proper sense of the word; it rains more or less the whole year round. There is only a relative summer which falls in the months September to March--that is to say, during the time when in the West there is winter. Even at that time there are seldom intervals of fine weather lasting for more than a few days, but lengthy and violent rains then are rare and consequently also those destructive inundations which form the greatest obstacle to all travelling in these regions.

The results of my studies among the Colorados have been published in a separate small treatise (1). Besides this, I also paid a visit to the Cayapas in the province of Esmeraldas, a tribe closely related to the Colorados, and made some notes on their customs. On my return from the latter expedition, however, I was shipwrecked outside Bahia de Caráquez on the coast of Ecuador, lost all my notes and photographs together with the rest of my equipment, and saved my life only by swimming to the shore.

For my expeditions to Eastern Ecuador I usually chose the 'summer-time' although sometimes it happened that I was obliged to stay there even during the rainy season, exposed to all changes of the weather and all those sufferings which at that time are more inevitable than at other times. [25]

There are three roads leading from the Ecuadorian Sierra down to the Oriente: one from Quito, which takes the traveller to the Rio Napo and its westernmost affluent, the river Tena; another from Ambato, a small town in the central cordilleras, to Rio Bobonaza, an affluent of the Pastaza; and a third from the town Riobamba to Rio Upano,

---

"1. 'The Colorado Indians of Western Ecuador', in Ymer (Journal of Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography) Stockholm., 1924. H. 2."

belonging to the Santiago river-system. I used all these roads several times during my expeditions to different parts of Eastern Ecuador, but I know particularly the regions round Bobonaza, Pastaza, and Upano, inhabited by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. My first expedition to Eastern Ecuador in 1916 took me to Napo, where I had an opportunity to study the half-civilized Indians living on the upper and middle courses of this river, as well as those living at the villages Archidona and Tena. The natives were formerly under the influence of the Jesuit missions founded in these regions and are still nominally Christians, a fact that does not, of course, prevent them from retaining a good deal of their ancient customs and superstitions. The culture of these Indians is essentially the same as that of the Canelos Indians to be described later. I may add that they no longer live in a state of freedom, but rather in a sort of serfdom or slavery to the white settlers on the Napo. I had an opportunity to study this system, which threatens the native tribes with rapid extermination, but the social position of the half-civilized Indians of Ecuador and Peru is a topic outside the scope of this work.

In Eastern Ecuador I also occasionally came into contact with the Avishiries, a savage tribe living in the unexplored virgin forests of the middle Curaray and its affluent Villano. I met some individuals of this extremely primitive tribe at an hacienda of the Napo, where they were held as captives or slaves, but was not able to study them more closely. The Avishiries were at that time already deadly enemies of the whites on account of the raids that some rubber-hunters and settlers had made upon their villages, killing some of the Indians and carrying off others as captives. Like many other primitive tribes in South America, the Avishiries are bound to die out within the near future, and their interesting culture will probably be lost to ethnological science.

I have made two long expeditions to the Rio Pastaza by canoe, starting from the village of Canelos on the Bobonaza. During the first, undertaken at the end of the year 1917, I visited the Achuares in the geographically unexplored virgin forests between the rivers Pastaza and Morona; on the second, undertaken in 1928-1929, I passed along [26] the Pastaza down to the Marañon, continuing up this great river in search of the Jibaro tribe called Aguaruna, who live in the neighbourhood of Pongo de Manseriche opposite the mouth of the Rio Santiago. Most of my time however, as already mentioned, was spent among the Jibaro tribes inhabiting the eastern slopes of the Andes, or the regions roughly limited by the upper Upano and Morona in the south and upper Pastaza in the north.

I propose to give a short account of some of these travels before I proceed to describe the customs of the Indians. In my opinion it is not possible fully to understand the culture of a people without knowing the geographical milieu in which it has been developed, since the latter always exerts a decisive influence upon its customs, institutions, and mode of life."

1: Karsten--27-31 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-7
116 (1928-29)

"The river Pastaza, which has its sources in the central cordilleras in the neighbourhood of the town Riobamba, is next to the Napo the largest of the tributaries of the great Amazon in Eastern Ecuador. The right bank of it, all the way from the spot where it leaves the mountains a few miles below the village Baños, is still very little known, nay, in part even geographically unexplored. This is due to the fact that the Pastaza does not become navigable by canoe until its middle course, or after it has received its largest affluent from the north, the river Bobonaza. Down to that point this river, which flows in an almost straight channel, is extremely rapid and, besides, forms numerous small but very dangerous cataracts and whirlpools. In addition to its largest tributary, the Bobonaza, the Pastaza river receives, in its upper course, several smaller affluents, among which there is the Llusino from the right, and the Pindu and the Copataza from the left. Although these rivers are situated only a few leagues from the eastern cordilleras, they were not properly explored until a few years ago.

At upper Bobonaza there is the small village Canelos with a Dominican mission founded for the conversion of the Indians inhabiting this region. The so-called Canelos Indians also live on the middle course of the river down to the village Juanjiri, a point where the dominions of the savage Jibaro Indians begin. There are some Jibaro communities on the left bank of the Pastaza, but the majority of the Jibaro tribes inhabit the great forests between the said river and its western tributary Morona as well as the regions between the latter river and the Santiago.

I started on my first Pastaza-expedition in the beginning of October 1917 and returned from it at the end of March the following year. For so long an expedition I had to take with me not only the necessary articles of exchange, but also a considerable supply of food, since in Eastern [28] Ecuador such things are often difficult or impossible to obtain at any price. Linen, cheap shirts and bright kerchiefs, big forest knives, small round mirrors, big needles and thread as well as bright coloured glass beads are among the articles most appreciated by the Indians, and no European travelling in the interior of South America can get along without a good store of them. The Indian bearers and rowers are generally paid with linen and forest knives, since money is little in use in Eastern Ecuador and entirely unknown to the independent Indians. Among the Jibaros it would be practically impossible to acquire ethnographic objects and provisions without bringing articles of exchange. The bright glass beads were of course particularly intended for the women, who string them into necklaces and appreciate these fancy wares more than if they were of silver or gold.

My only 'white' servants on this expedition were two mestizos from Macas, a big village east of Riobamba on the Rio Upano. One of these, a young man with the name

Leon Jaula, was the best servant I ever had during my travels in South America and accompanied me on all my subsequent expeditions in Ecuador and Peru.

My nearest destination was Canelos on the Bobonaza, from where I proposed to continue by canoe down the river to Pastaza. I had visited this mission for the first time during my Napo-expedition and once afterwards, and consequently was able to travel along roads partly known to me. Starting from the town Ambato, one could at that time reach Canelos in six or seven days, but only the first two days, from Ambato to the village of Baños and from Baños to an hacienda called La Victoria, could one travel on horseback. At Baños bearers are generally engaged for the rest of the journey, but I took mine from Pelileo, a small town situated midway between Ambato and Baños, a region inhabited by half-civilized Quichua-speaking Indians.

Generally one has to wait a few days before the Indian bearers are ready for the march. As usual in similar cases, I spent the time in studying the natives of the region. The Pelileo Indians are closely related to the other Quichua-speaking Indians of Central Ecuador but seem to have conserved their old customs and beliefs better than other half-civilized natives of the Sierra. At any rate they have kept up their old cult of deceased relatives, which I had an opportunity to study during several stays at Pelileo. The most interesting part of this cult is the ceremonial game called huayru, which in a modified form has been borrowed by the Indians of Canelos and therefore will be described later on. [29]

With six Indian bearers I left Pelileo and arrived at Baños the same day. This village is the last outpost of civilization towards the east and on my expeditions to the Oriente I usually stopped here for some days. A traveller who visits this place for the first time will certainly find it interesting in many respects. The whole region round the village of Baños attracts attention through its wild scenery and the peculiar formations of the surrounding mountains. It looks as if at some time in remote antiquity a terrible natural catastrophe had taken place here, splitting the rocks and causing the mountains to burst, thus producing the deep clefts and abysses which yawn everywhere. In the immediate neighbourhood of Baños the restless, fire-spitting Tunguragua, the most active of the numerous volcanoes of Ecuador, raises its wide crater against the sky. In March 1917 the eruptions were, for several days and weeks, so violent that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages frequently believed their last hour had come.

Down in the dizzy chasm, along the edge of which is the riding-track, runs the Pastaza, violently throwing forwards its waters which are blackened by the lava constantly flowing from the volcano. The traveller crosses the chasm riding over a comparatively fine bridge, passes by the statue of the patron of Baños, San Martin, and a few minutes later enters the village.

Baños, which was founded as early as 1553 by monks belonging to the Dominican

Order to support the missions round the Rio Pastaza, is quite a big place with several hundred inhabitants. Both its name--Baños means 'the Baths'--and its fame the village owes to the phosphorous springs, one warm and one cold, which have their sources on a hill situated to the south of it, and the waters of which are believed to have supernatural, beneficial effects. The Virgin herself, according to tradition, formerly revealed these springs in a miraculous way to a priest, and they have ever since been the objects of a real cult. Even to-day Baños is continually visited by pilgrims, sometimes coming from very distant places in Ecuador, who seek remedy for all sorts of maladies by bathing in the wonder-working water and by observing the cult due to the Virgin. The wooden image of _Nuestra Señora de aguas santas_ is on these occasions taken out from the church at the _plaza_ and is carried in solemn procession round the village. This ceremony takes place about six o'clock in the morning, at dawn, and is arranged for a certain fee paid by those persons who are seeking the aid of the wonder-working Virgin. Thereupon follows the bath in the sacred spring, the water of the warm [30] spring being mixed with that of the cold one in suitable proportions. The procession with the wooden image and the bathing is repeated for several mornings in succession. Nearly every time I have been at Baños I have had an opportunity to witness this kind of Catholic worship, characteristic of the mestizos of South America.

The majority of the inhabitants of Baños are half-breeds, but the surroundings are thickly populated by Quichua and Spanish-speaking Indians who are closely related to the Ambato and Pelileo Indians. Once a week there is a fair-day (dia de feria), when the natives of the district arrive at the village to sell the products of their home industry as well as all kinds of food, bread, maize, barley, meat, pigs and fowls, eggs, chancaca (a sort of cake made from crude sugar cane), and other things. Such fairs are held on different week-days in all villages in the mountain regions of Ecuador, and they are of particular interest to a stranger, whom they afford a good opportunity to study the manners of the people and different native types.

I left Baños on the 11th of October. The road leading down to the Oriente from Baños follows the left bank of the Pastaza. The traveller passes the interesting waterfall called Chorrera de Agoyan and a few hours later enters the virgin forest at Topo, a small affluent of the main river, arriving shortly afterwards at the tremendous cordillera Abitagua. This hill is nearly one kilometer in height and it takes about three hours to climb its steep and slippery ridges. Having at last arrived at the top the wearied traveller has to start a hardly less tiring descent on the other side, which takes a couple of hours more to accomplish. From Abitagua one arrives in one day at Puyo, a small village inhabited by half-civilized Quichua-speaking Indians, whence one has to walk two days more through dense forest to reach Canelos.

The miserable condition of the ways, which are nothing but primitive Indian trails, and the almost continuous rains make all travelling in Eastern Ecuador extremely trying. In many cases the traveller has to walk wet to the skin from morning till evening. I may remark however that since I made my first journey to Canelos there has, in this part of the country, been a certain improvement of the means of communication. A new road, suitable for big carts and travelling on horseback, has been made along the left bank of the Pastaza rounding the Abitagua to a place called Mera, from where it is only one day's march to Puyo. Mera, which some ten years ago only consisted of one house in a marshy and disagreeable tract, is now a big village with several hundred inhabitants. [31] This however, as I was able to establish during my last journey in the country a few years ago, is rather an exceptional improvement in the general condition of the Ecuadorian Oriente, where civilization is making extremely slow progress."

"Canelos is the biggest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in Eastern Ecuador. Founded in 1581, the mission has in past centuries gone through severe vicissitudes. Several times it has been attacked by the savage Jibaro Indians, who on one occasion entirely destroyed the village. Sometimes epidemics of smallpox have decimated its population and threatened its very existence. The very place where Canelos is now situated is not the same as the one where the mission was originally founded. The name Canelos was given to the village by the Spanish monks on account of the numerous cinnamon trees in this region. The cinnamon bark to be obtained here is, however, mediocre in quality. Only the cinnamon flower, called ishpingo, is valuable and may some time become a profitable article of export when the communications with the outer world are improved.

In addition to the stately wooden mission building, there are in Canelos only two small bamboo houses inhabited by white people, of which the one is occupied by the teniente politico, the government's representative in these regions. The rest of the inhabitants are all Indians, but they live in Canelos only at certain times, or more strictly speaking, when the missionaries have ordained a reunioń for the celebration of some religious feast, above all at Christmas and at midsummer. Such a 'reunioń' lasts a few weeks. At these times Canelos is crowded with Indians who attend the necessary services at the mission, go to mass, are married, or have their children baptized by the monks, and who sometimes, wearing magnificent feather ornaments and provided with drums and rattle gourds, perform their festival dances outside the church itself. The Indians see nothing improper in this, for their own dances have originally been, and are still in part, of a strictly ceremonial charac-[33] ter. It is more to be regretted that these 'religious' feasts are also celebrated with excessive brandy drinking, a custom which the Catholic missionaries have not had enough power and influence to stop.

At other times of the year these Indians prefer to live in their small *tambos*, generally situated on the banks of the Bobonaza, in some cases on a streamlet in the interior of the forest, but always at a respectable distance from the village. It seems to be the happiest time of the Canelos Indian when he is able to retire with his family, not only from the mission and the authority it exercises over him, but also from his fellow-tribesmen to devote himself to his favourite occupations, hunting and fishing. That anti-social feature which has been said to be characteristic of the Indian in general appears in a typical way among the half-civilized Indians of the Bobonaza.

As I have stated before, the Indians of Canelos are Christians by name, but like most 'Christian' Indians they have remained heathen in their hearts. Thus the most characteristic feature in their mentality is their strong belief in witchcraft, a superstition that has fatally influenced the customs of the Canelos Indians as well as those of the Jibaros proper.

The Superintendent of the mission of Canelos was Father Davíla, of the Dominican Order. In his company I paid visits to several Indian houses in the neighbourhood of the mission. Everywhere we were bounteously entertained with manioc-beer, the national drink of the forest Indians with which every welcome guest is received. Like the beer brewed of maize, customary among the mountain Indians and the Guarani peoples, the manioc-beer has become particularly famous through the unappetizing way in which it is prepared, fermentation being brought about by chewing the fruit and mixing it well with saliva. For my own part I have never been able to overcome my dislike of the Indian chicha--the name under which the native beer is generally known among the whites--although sometimes I have tasted a little from the gourd offered me by my dark-coloured hostesses. However, I met many whites, even Europeans, who had no objection to drinking the Indian chicha and even found it tasty. Father Davíla was among those who had learned to appreciate it. The custom at Canelos appeared to be that the higher a guest is held in estimation, the more manioc-beer is offered to him. Having entered a house the Father at once received a large earthenware cup, containing nearly a litre, from the hand of the hostess. He drank a little from it and placed the cup on the bank at his side. A few moments later the hostess appeared with

1: Karsten--32-36 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116 (1928-29)

a new cup of manioc-beer, [34] then with a third, and so forth, so that at last the Father was sitting with three big cups, filled up to the brim with beer, in front of him and one more in the hand, the contents of which he tried to diminish by frequent draughts. During the whole time the hostess stood beside him, ready to fill up the vessel again. It is true that the Indians themselves are able to consume incredible quantities of their native beers, but for an ordinary human stomach such an entertainment would be too much. Happily Indian hospitality does not necessarily demand that the whole quantity should be consumed, at least not when a white host is concerned. It is also regarded as proper that a guest, thus entertained, invites some other guest, less honoured than he, to help him to empty the numerous cups of chicha offered to him.

During the 'summer' small stinging flies or mosquitos are a real plague in Eastern Ecuador, and especially in the region of Canelos. In order to protect an esteemed guest from this molestation it is customary that the host of the house places at his feet a piece of a termite nest which has previously been set on fire, when it produces a thick, disagreeable smoke. I found this arrangement excellent, although frequently it had the disadvantage of driving out, not only the molesting flies, but also the guest himself. At any rate my own eyes could not stand this disgusting smoke, to which I preferred even the mosquitos. When travelling on the river, where these little winged

1; Karsten--32-36 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116 (1928-29)

demons are particularly molesting, the Indians generally take such a smoking object with them in the canoe to have some protection for their bare limbs.

The most interesting person I met on the Bobonaza was the old chief Palati, famous in the whole of Eastern Ecuador as a sorcerer, formerly also as a warrior. Palati was the oldest Indian I ever knew, and in 1917 when I saw him the first time must have been over a hundred years old. No Indian is able to tell his age exactly. 'We cannot reckon', is the answer one regularly receives on asking an Indian how old he is. Palati's age, however, I was able to establish with a good deal of certainty. Being, like most Indians, fond of wandering, he had formerly visited the civilized parts of Ecuador also and, according to his own assertion, in his youth had visited Marshall Sucre in Quito. The great Ecuadorian champion of liberty lived in Quito in the years 1826 to 1829, from which I infer that Palati must have been born during the first years of the nineteenth century. This accords with statements which I have received from the whites. A man who had lived in the neighbourhood of Canelos for 30 years told me that when he first arrived there, Palati was supposed [35] to be over 90 years old. He added that during this long time the old Indian chief had not notably changed. When I met Palati he was still a very vigorous old man; he was able to undertake long wanderings, he had preserved his mental faculties, and became quite eloquent when he began to talk about his ancient warlike exploits and his enemies the Jibaro Indians. It was Palati's ambition to play the role of a political leader among his people, and such, as a matter of fact, had been his position for many decades. Being brave, clever and cunning, and in possession of the kind of eloquence which is so much appreciated among the Indians, he had actually succeeded in maintaining his influence, which growing age had not lessened as is usual, but strengthened.

If one asks Palati about his power in practising witchcraft he pretends to know nothing about it. 'Jesús Maria, I am a Christian', he answers, devoutly making the sign of the cross. Witchcraft, it should be understood, is one of those superstitions of the Indians which the Catholic Fathers are most anxious to eradicate, and the Indians in fact only practise their magic art in secret. However, to a white man in Eastern Ecuador whom he knew well Palati had spoken very frankly. 'I am so hard that no magic arrow is able to harm me', he had said, 'and this is the reason why I have grown so old. On the other hand, I have not seen the Indian who was able to resist my own chunta arrows.'

Although the Canelos Indians are nominally Christians, their relations to the leaders of the mission have not always been of a friendly nature. There have sometimes been conflicts between the Fathers and the Indians. The worst was the one which arose when the present wooden mission building was constructed, some forty years ago. The Indians were of opinion that a bamboo building of the kind commonly used by both Indians and settlers in Eastern Ecuador would be good enough for the Fathers, and consequently refused to construct a wooden house which would demand much time and work. The Indians engaged in a 'strike' of the kind that has not been uncommon among Christian Indians 'reduced' at missions. In Eastern Ecuador this strike is called miticushca which means 'to avoid', 'to keep away'; the Indians, in defiance of the orders of the Fathers, go off to their distant tambos, keeping away from the mission and the duties it imposes upon them. Palati, who had found an opportunity to exert his influence, was the leading person in organizing this strike, agitating and delivering speeches among the Indians and doing his best in exhorting them to avoid the mission. But the continuance of the boycott proved impossible; one family after the other [36] returned to the mission and submitted to the authority of the Fathers. Seeing that he would come off a loser Palati found it convenient to change his attitude in time. One day the Father had succeeded in calling together a number of Indians at the mission, and after the mass was finished he intended to speak to them to bring them to reason. Palati, who was also present, asked to be allowed to say a few words to the Indians first. Then he started to deliver an exciting oration in which he expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of the striking Indians, reproaching them for their ingrat-

1; Karsten--32-36 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116 (1928-29)

itude towards the Father, and urging them to return to their duty. He himself, he said, had been against the miticushca from the beginning, but his advice had not been followed. This hypocritical declaration of the man who had been the real instigator of the strike, of course, astonished the Father, and some of the Indians too wished to raise protests against so obvious a distortion of the facts. However, satisfied at the final settlement of the conflict, the Father found it wiser to overlook minor matters. Palati had saved his prestige and even strengthened his influence.

Palati died in 1924, a few years after I left Canelos and South America. He was an interesting acquaintance to me, not only on account of his great age and his wide experience of life but also on account of his whole character, which seemed to me to be typical of an Indian chief and 'politician'."

1: Karsten--37-47 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-18
116 (1928-29)

"I was ready to start on my journey down the rivers. According to my original project I had first to visit the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Achuares, who lived somewhere on the midle [ sic ] course of the Pastaza in the interior of the country. Thereafter I wished to continue my journey along the Pastaza down to the Marañon for the purpose of visiting the Cocama Indians and certain other tribes living on this great river. For reasons to be mentioned later I was not, however, able to carry out the latter part of the programme.

Besides my boy Leon, I was accompanied on this expedition by another mestizo from Macas by name Raimundo as well as by three Indians from Canelos, experts in handling the paddle and extremely well acquainted with the Bobonaza region. I started from Canelos with two comparatively small canoes, a larger canoe having been promised me at Sarayacu, an Indian village situated three days journey down the river. The very first day I had an accident which threatened to become fatal to my whole expedition. In its upper course the Bobonaza is full of cataracts in which small canoes are easily upset. This was exactly what happened to me. We had successfully, although with great difficulty, passed several cataracts and I warned the two Indians who managed my own canoe to be careful and get down into the water at the most dangerous places and move the canoe by hand, as Indians are wont to do in similar cases. They however, trusting in their skill, would not do this but in one of the worst cataracts allowed the canoe to slide down the rocks at full speed with the consequence that the waves, dashing in from the sides, suddenly filled and upset it. The accident happened at the deep pool--called *cucha* by the Indians--which usually forms beneath the cataracts. Since the weather was rainy I wore my mackintosh, but still without difficulty reached the shore by swimming. One of my Indians saved [38] the canoe which was being taken down by the strong current, while the other tried to save the luggage. Only a part of it could he get hold of; several things went to the bottom, among others my rifle and my gun and a basket containg [sic] all my cooking-utensils and plates, matches, etc. One of my Indians, an extremely clever swimmer, soon succeeded in picking up the rifle from the bottom, but still it seemed almost impossible for me to continue my journey on the original plan unless I recovered the rest of my lost property. Drenched to the skin I could do nothing for the moment but proceed on my way until I arrived at the next Indian house, which took a couple of hours to reach. On the following day we returned to the scene of the accident in the company of an Indian who, being a clever diver, offered to try to recover the lost things. After hard work he really succeeded in bringing up the gun, and even the basket was found later on. So I was able to continue my interrupted journey, but at another dangerous cataract, bearing the significant name *Runa huanusca*, 'the Dead Man's cataract' I again had a narrow escape from being shipwrecked.

1: Karsten--37-47 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116 (1928-29)

The Bobonaza is a beautiful but extremely sinuous river. Very seldom can one travel for more than a few minutes in a straight line. In its rapid course the river constantly forms enormous curves, and frequently the traveller again arrives quite near a place which he passed a while ago on the other side of a narrow neck of land. The Indians of Canelos always reckon the distance to a certain place on the Bobonaza by the number of turnings ('vueltas') that the canoe has to take before that place is reached, and it was remarkable with what accuracy they could always assign the number of 'vueltas' from any point of the river to almost any Indian house situated on its banks.

We reached Sarayacu on the fourth day after leaving Canelos. It is a small village inhabited by Indians nominally Christians like those of Canelos. A small bamboo house in the middle of the village was used as a church where divine service was held once a year when the Father from Canelos came there to see the Indians. Besides this, there was another bamboo house intended for the government's representative, who also at times visited these regions.

At Sarayacu I had to make various arrangements for my journey down the Bobonaza and the Pastaza. Above all I wanted a larger canoe as well as some provisions. I succeeded in hiring a big canoe for the whole trip, paying ten yards of linen to its owner. I moreover obtained a quantity of manioc and bananas as well as a number of fowls after lengthy [39] negotiations with the women. When I arrived the Indians were just celebrating a drinking-fest and consequently were all assembled. The feast was one of those I had frequently witnessed among the Indians of Canelos. In the middle of a great house a number of younger men, wearing magnificent feather ornaments on their heads and backs, were ceremonially walking round in a circle, incessantly beating their drums in slow time. Round these men some older Indians were sitting in groups, nearly all holding big earthen vessels, filled with manioc-beer, in their hands, from which they constantly took draughts. The women formed a group of their own and some of them, who acted as hostesses, were always engaged in filling the vessels with manioc-beer and distributing them among the men. The women in their dress fell far short of the elegance displayed by the men, but a conspicuous feature was their facial painting. Even the men ornament their faces in red and black colours for festival occasions, but the Indian women of the Sarayacu region are in the habit of blackening artlessly both their cheeks and the nether part of the chin with the juice of the genipa fruit with the effect that at a distance it lookes [sic] as if they had a full beard. This facial painting is not looked upon as a decoration, but is applied for purely practical purposes.

Beneath the Sarayacu are a few Indian houses and even a small village, inhabited by mestizos and Indians, called Juanjiri, but for the rest the regions are wholly desert. The same may be said of the Pastaza's middle course, where there are only sundry

Indian settlements. These Indians belong to the small Shimigay tribe, who speak Quichua and are now half-civilized. The savage Indians, on the other hand, have retired far away to the unexplored parts of the interior. My nearest goal was Andoas, the last Ecuadorian garrison on the Pastaza, situated on the middle course of this river, about ten leagues from the mouth of the Bobonaza. This point can be reached in five days from the village Juanjiri.

At Canelos, which is situated at a height of about 800 m. above sea-level, the temperature is quite tolerable, but from Sarayacu downwards the heat increases daily, becoming at last extremely trying for one travelling by canoe. Similarly nature becomes ever more luxuriant. The mosquito plague is dreadful in these regions in the rainy season. Clouds of these little pests constantly swarm around us, anxious to suck our blood and torment us in every way. In vain I anoint my hands and face with an antiseptic ointment; only for a moment can it keep off the tor-[40] mentors. I realize the futility of the theory, set forth by some traveller in South America, which explains the Indian custom of body-painting as a means of keeping off mosquitos and flies. Animal life, and expecially [sic] bird life, grows ever richer. The great macaw, for instance, which requires a hot climate, only makes its appearance from Sarayacu downwards. This beautiful parrot as well as the smaller parrots, the tucan, and many other kinds of bird contribute towards giving life to the forests. Frequently, in the course of our journey, we stop to shoot a big turkey, a macaw, or some other bird which we have sighted in a tree close to the river bank, or to fish. Of big animals the tapir and the boar or wild pig are the most common. Even the jaguar is frequently seen in these uninhabited regions, although it generally takes to flight at the sight of an approaching canoe. On the Pastaza I found an especially rich animal life, large herds of peccary pigs and water hogs or capivaras being most often seen. On the river itself the numerous tortoises snd alligators attract particular attention, whereas the great water boa or anaconda, although quite common in all rivers of Western Amazonas, is only seldom seen.

My Indian servants practise fishing during the whole journey to eke out our store of food. From time to time they suddenly stop paddling and attentively watch the river some distance in front of the canoe, whereupon they seize their nets. In the shallow water close to the bank they have noticed a movement on the surface of the water which indicates that a multitude of bocachico fish are assembled on this very spot. One of the Indians arranges the long net in his hand, jumps into the water and cautiously wades to the place where the movement was noticed. The next moment he throws the net like a lasso, so that it unfolds on the outside of the spot where the fish is supposed to be assembled. The majority of them of course escape, but generally several of them are caught in the meshes of the net. Sometimes the Indians succeed in surprising in the same way a big bagre, s [sic] sheat-fish, and in such cases a fierce fight ensues in the water when the violent fish tries to disengage itself from the net and the firm grasp of the Indians. Generally, however, the Indians catch the sheat-fish by harpooning it.

It is especially on journeys on the river that one has an opportunity to watch that wonderful faculty of observation which is so strongly developed in the savage Indian as in man in his natural state in general. His eyes and ears are always alert; sometimes he watches the river itself, sometimes the leafy heads of the trees, sometimes his keen eyes penetrate [41] the thickets of the forest where he is able to detect forms of life which wholly evade the observation of civilized man. The least noise instantly arouses his attention and as a rule he is able to decide at once from what it proceeds.

On the lower Bobonaza the climate begins to become unhealthy, which an experienced traveller will understand from the very presence of numerous morete palms (Mauritia) and swamps. If he wants to escape malarial fever he has above all to guard himself at night against attacks of the fever-bringing Anopheles mosquito by a safe mosquito net. Shortly before we arrived at Pastaza we had passed an Indian village, called by the mestizos Santa Rosa, which had been abandoned some time ago on account of an epidemic of malarial fever. My Indians repeatedly pointed out to me that we had hardly any chance ourselves of escaping being 'caught by the disease', as they express the matter. Far more terrible than the malaria, I was told, is another mysterious disease which was said to rage epidemically in the region of Andoas and to which--according to a rumour current at Canelos--some men of the garrison had already fallen victims. Unfortunately for me, these rumours very soon proved to be true.

On the fourth day after we left Sarayacu we met a big canoe which was being slowly poled up the river by a crew of six men. Both the large crew and the small cabin made of palm leaves with which the canoe was provided made it certain that some notable passenger was travelling in it. When we reached the canoe I saw a man lying trembling and half-unconscious on the bottom of it in the cabin. The men of the crew informed us that the sick man was the chief of the garrison of Andoas, Colonel Orellana, who was travelling to Canelos to be cured of his illness. At the same time we were told of the sad fate of the other men of the garrison. Only two months ago Colonel Orellana had arrived at Andoas together with his secretary and seven soldiers. Withing [sic] this short time the secretary and four of the soldiers had died of a terrible disease, called *escorbuto* by the settlers in Eastern Ecuador and evidently of an epidemic character. The last man had died the day before the party left Andoas. The three remaining soldiers were still there. Whether the poor commandant would reach Canelos alive seemed to me very uncertain, even if he was only suffering from malaria. From the point where we were then Canelos could not be reached even in a fortnight.

1; Karsten--37-47 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116 (1928-29)

The notice we had received about the epidemic raging in these regions had naturally a very unfavourable influence upon the morale of [42] my own men. The worst trouble a European experiences when travelling alone in the interior of South America with uncivilized Indians is one arising from their superstitions. My men became convinced that in travelling down the Pastaza they were going towards an almost certain death. From their conversation with one another and with my boys I understood that they were discussing nothing less than the possibility of a strike. At last they told me that they were not inclined to go down to the Amazon to die, and that, if I insisted on going there, they would leave me alone on a sandbank and run away from me some night. This was one of the occasions when I realized the drawback of travelling alone off the beaten track with such unreliable servants as the indigenous South Americans are, be they mestizos or pure Indians. Since I found that I was for the moment wholly dependent on my servants, I deemed it foolish to try to continue according to the original plan. Instead of that, I proposed a compromise according to which we should only visit the Achuares on the middle Pastaza as well as the Shimigay Indians and thereupon return to Canelos. The visit to the Achuares was in fact my chief interest on this expedition. My journey down to the Marañon I could easily postpone to some later time.

My new proposal was accepted by the Indians and we continued our journey. The news we had received of the epidemic raging at Andoas induced me to avoid that place as far as possible. We decided to stay there only a few hours and to spend the night, as usual, on one of the large sandbanks existing in the Pastaza. Early on the following day we arrived at Andoas. This place had formerly been a village inhabited by half-civilized Shimigay Indians. In the 17th century the Jesuits also had a mission here. But the village had later suffered greatly from epidemics and repeated attacks of the savage Jibaro Indians, who twice had even completely destroyed it. When I visited Andoas for the first time it consisted of only three primitive houses, inhabited by soldiers of the garrison and by an Indian family. The rest of the Shimigays had moved further down the river out of fear, partly of the savage Jibaros, partly of the diseases ravaging at Andoas.

We were received by the surviving members of the garrison, three young men, who told us about the sad events of the recent weeks. The disease commonly called escorbuto, (scurvy) by the mestizos, is characterized essentially by high fever, dizziness, and an almost irresistible sleepiness. The mestizos and Indians have their own theory about the origin of this disease. It is caused, they say,by the anus of the patient [43] being affected by worms which rapidly spread along the rectum into the whole intestinal system, consuming it, so that the patient literally rots away in a few days. Bad food and excessive humidity are mentioned as the chief causes of this disease. I have been told that the same disease exists in Matoo Grosso in Brazil, where it is called corrupção. The Indians of the Bobonaza assert that it can be cured if certain measures are instantly taken. Their remedy consists of a sort of clyster prepared of powder, Indian pepper, and certain other antiseptic herbs which are alleged to kill the worms before they have spread in the intestines. At the time when I first travelled on the Pastaza, there prevailed much obscurity as to the real nature of the disease and the physicians of Ecuador only knew it by name.

We left Andoas early in the afternoon so as to have time to make our encampment on a sandbank further down the river. We soon found a suitable camping-place, but our rest that night was disturbed by one of those dreadful thunderstorms which are so frequent in the Amazon region. The storm was as usual preceded by a violent hurricane which swept along the river from the south, rapidly approaching the place where we were staying. When the hurricane came over us we had to unite all our forces to hold the tent, which otherwise would have gone aloft like a kite. In the adjacent forest on the river-bank several large trees were thrown down; it was lucky that we had not camped on the bank, which is in fact dangerous in these regions, at least during the rainy season. The hurricane was followed by a shower so heavy that it caused the tent-poles to bend. Wet to the skin we were obliged to wait for about half-an-hour, when the thunderstorm passed and everything became calm.

1: Karsten--37-47 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-12
116 (1928-29)

The following day in the evening we arrived at a lonely settlement on the river, the owner of which, a young cauchero (collector of rubber), was able to give me important information about the Achuares. On the opposite bank of the Pastaza, about half a day's journey down the river, there is the mouth of the small river Tonegrama. To arrive at the country of the Achuares we hade [sic] to ascend the river for a few hours, whereupon we had to continue our journey through the forest for one day and a half more. Like most other savage Indians the Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, where they are more exposed to their enemies, be they Indians of other tribes or whites, but prefer to construct their large communal houses on some small rivulet in the interior of the country. Consequently, if I wished to visit the Achuares I had to penetrate into a country where most certainly no European had ever put his [44] foot and where the savage Indians lived in absolute independence. The cauchero was the only Ecuadorian or Peruvian who had had any connection with these Indians, and he offered to accompany me to their villages as a guide.

Having made the necessary preparations for the journey we started upon our expedition and soon reached the mouth of the river Tonegrama. It turned out to be a beautiful and not rapid small river, but owing to the great number of brush-heaps and tree trunks with which it was blocked it was a far from easy task to ascend it. At last, early in the afternoon, we reached a narrow path close to a streamlet where our guide told my Indians to halt. We pulled up the canoe at a place in the forest where it was well hidden by the luxuriant vegetation, and with our guide in front started to walk along the narrow Indian path, frequently almost invisible, which led through the forest. In many places we could only clear a track with the aid of the forest knife (machete), an implement indispensable to every wanderer in the forests of tropical South America. We passed the first night in a rancho close to a streamlet and on the following morning, according to our guide, we were to arrive at the first Jibaro house. While covering the remaining distance we were instructed by the guide as to how we had to behave on our arrival. When approaching the first house we were warned not to speak loudly or to make any noise, since the attention of the Indians might be aroused too soon; they might run away or find time to take other measures. As soon as the first plantain and manioc plantations became visible one of my Indian companions made a loud signal with a cow's horn which he had brought with him for this very purpose. In this way our arrival was announced and the Indians would understand that friends and not enemies were approaching. Such a precaution is always considered necessary when one visits the savage Jibaro Indians. Thereupon we hastened our steps and a few moments later reached the house, the inhabitants of which were outside to meet us. We were received with the usual suspicion and curiosity and of course had to answer the usual questions as to the object of our visit, who that strange light-haired apachi (white man) was whom the Indians had brought, how long we intended to stay, and so forth. The women and children particularly displayed fear and suspicion, but at the same time curiosity drew them irresistibly to the spot where we were. They became calmer when I opened my boxes and presented a beautiful necklace of glass beads to each of the women as well as small mirrors and needles to the children. The owner of the house received [45] a forest knife and I easily obtained his permission to stay in the house a few days.

Later on I shall describe the detailed greeting ceremonies which take place when a guest is received in a Jibaro house. A small speech must always be delivered to the host on behalf of the arriving party, and one of my Indian companions, Shaua by name, himself of Jibaro origin, undertook this duty. 'We have arrived, my brother', he said, 'as companions of this white man and carrying his luggage. We come to you as friends and not as enemies, to see how you live and to exchange things with you. Disease and evil we do not bring with us. We want to stay with you a few days in peace', and so forth. The host answered this speech with some words in the same vein. Shaua and his comrades were all the more anxious to express their friendly feelings to our hosts as only with hesitation had they consented to visit these old hereditary enemies of the Canelos Indians.

The rubber collector who had accompanied us to the Indians was, as I have said, almost the only white man with whom these savages had been in contact. As usual he had paid the Indians for their services with trousers, shirts, linen, etc., in consequence of which the native dress of these Indians showed more traces of European influence than I had expected. This influence, however, was absolutely limited to the dress. What I was able to establish during this visit to the distant Achuares was the great uniformity of the Jibaro culture. There are of course minor differences. Thus the dialect spoken by these Jibaros differs to a certain extent from the one spoken by the Upano tribes and the Huambizas. The Achuares seldom have swine and at their great victory feast there is no ceremony answering to 'the slaughtering of the swine' among the Upano Indians. Contrary to what is the case among the latter, who prefer to buy their arrow poison from other tribes, the Achuares are themselves skilled poison makers, and they likewise make their blow-guns with which they even carry on a trade. Like the rest of their fellow-tribesmen they weave their loin-clothes, but their method of dyeing the stuff differs from that practised by the Upanos. Their pottery shows many interesting peculiarities, both in form and in the way of painting it, as will be shown later on. But their general mode of life, their social organization and, as far as I was able to ascertain, their intellectual culture is exactly the same as that of other Jibaro tribes, in spite of the relative isolation in which the Achuares live and probably have lived for many decades, perhaps for centuries. [46]

The interior of the country of the Achuares is geographically unexplored, but is said to be inhabited by various Jibaro tribes who, as usual, are hostile to each other and make war among themselves. According to the information I received there are Indian paths leading through the forests to the Morona and further to the Upano, and I was moreover told that the distance can be covered in about a fortnight. However, since it is only possible to penetrate into these primeval forests with the aid of Indian guides, and members of one tribe cannot be persuaded to set foot on ground belonging to a strange tribe, it would have been practically impossible for me to undertake such a journey. I was obliged to return the same way as I had come. The fear and distrust of our hosts made it difficult for us to stay even a week; repeated questions as to when we intended to leave hastened our departure. Since we had nevertheless lived on quite friendly terms with the Indians, a sort of parting speech was necessary and it was delivered by our speaker Shaua. 'Now we leave, my brother', he said to our host, 'now we go back to our own country. We have had a nice stay with you and we have lived in peace together. May you also, brother, soon pay a visit to us.'--Each of these phrases was for safety's sake repeated a couple of times and with as persuasive a voice as possible.

This was Shaua's 'official' opinion of our visit. His real estimate of the Achuares appeared to be somewhat different when on the return journey we were discussing our impressions of the visit. My Canelos Indians had consented to accompany me to these savages of bad repute chiefly because they had combined certain business interests with the visit. The Canelos Indians have developed the making of drums into a real industry, whereas the Achuares are particularly skilled in making blowguns. Shaua had taken with him two drums of his own make for the sake of bartering with the Achuares. In his own opinion however, he had made a very bad bargain and with vehement gestures and curses gave vent to his discontent with our hosts on account of their greed. However this may have been, I knew that my Indian companion had done good business in another way: he had appeared among the Achuares as a medicine-man and had had several patients, and since such services are among the Indians paid just as scrupulously as a physician is paid by his patients in a civilized society, I understood that the visit had in fact been quite remunerative to him. Instead of the two drums he had taken with him, he returned with four blowguns, although one blowgun is generally paid for with one drum. [47]

Having returned to the Pastaza I paid a visit to the half-civilized Shimigay Indians mentioned before. My studies among these Indians fall outside the scope of the present work.

My journey back to Canelos took about three weeks and was extremely trying. The ascent of the Bobonaza, which is always a hard and tedious undertaking, was rendered still more difficult by heavy rains which caused the river to swell. Still worse, the Indians caught malaria in the unhealthy regions of the Pastaza and fell ill one after the other. At last my servant Leon and I myself were the only ones who were well, and when we arrived at Canelos even Leon had attacks of fever. One of my Indians was so bad that he was carried from the canoe in a state of unconsciousness. I had tried to cure my sick Indian servants with quinine, but since it is practically impossible to make an Indian take medicine regularly, my remedies were seemingly of little use. This again, and the fact that I did not fall ill myself, was explained by the Indians in a way very unfavourable to me: I was supposed to possess secret remedies which I kept for myself thus retaining my health, whereas I allowed my Indian servants to die. It was consequently with a party of very discontented men that I returned from this expedition at the end of March. I knew however, that experiences of this kind are inevitable to everybody who travels in the interior of South America alone, only accompanied by native servants. I had to remain at Canelos for eight days before I could continue my journey with my mestizo boy Leon. I did not return to civilization, but went to the village of Macas, my proper headquarters for the study of the Jibaro Indians. My excursions in these regions will be described in the following chapters."

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1 -8
116, 175 (1928-29)

"From the village of Macas which, as I have said, was the main basis for my studies of the Jibaro Indians, I made numerous expeditions to the tribes living in the south, in the east, and in the north, and I soon found that this region was one of the chief centres of this native Indian culture. For about two years I roamed the endless virgin forests between the Upano and the Morona in all directions, and I do not, of course, propose to relate all my experiences during these journeys. A general description of the country and the conditions under which its inhabitants live may, however, be necessary as an introduction to the detailed account of the customs of the Indians which I shall give later on. A fuller account will be given of the expedition undertaken to the Chirapas, a Jibaro tribe on the upper Rio Pastaza, where I was for the first time present at a 'tsantsa'-feast, the great victory feast of these Indians.

In order to reach Macas I had to start from Riobamba, a big town in the central cordilleras of Ecuador. It is situated about 2,800 meters above the sea, with an extensive view over distant blue mountains and snow-clad volcanoes and a splendid, pure air. Native life here is still more characteristic than at Quito. No tract of the Ecuadorian Andes is so thickly populated as the one of Riobamba. Every day one can see long processions of Quichua-speaking Indian men and women marching into the town from the surrounding villages driving herds of llamas and donkeys laden with all sorts of agricultural products, and on a *dia de feria* (market day) the great *plazas*,

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 175 (1928-29)

the meeting-places for thousands of poncho-clad natives, offers a very picturesque sight. Unfortunately the social and political conditions under which the Indians of the Riobamba region live are extremely bad, inasmuch as in many cases they are outside the protection which the laws of the country ought to afford to all of its inhabi-[49]tants. The Indians, who of course are the original owners of the soil, have mercilessly been forced out of the areas they occupied by the rich hacienda owners, who often deny them the right even to reap the products from the small plots of land which surround their primitive huts and which give them their only livelihood.

From Riobamba the Upano can be reached in seven days, although the distance is no more than about 50 leagues (170 miles). The roads in this part of the Oriente, it should be understood, are worse than anywhere else in Ecuador. Still, nearly half of the way can be covered on horseback, although only horses or mules particularly trained for the purpose are able to take the traveller over the dreadful paths which lead down to the banks of the river Upano.

About four marches eastwards from Riobamba there is a small village called Chanala, inhabited by Quichua Indians and mestizos. These natives frequently go to Riobamba as *arrieros* (mule and horse drivers) or to sell their agricultural products, and they possess horses and mules which are specially trained for travelling on the rough

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 175 (1928-29)

roads in the Ecuadorian mountain regions. During my first stay at Riobamba I made the acquaintance of one of the mestizos of Chanalá and thenceforward always ordered my riding and pack mules from him when I went to Chanalá. It was necessary however to wait for about eight days before the beasts arrived.

The road leading from Riobamba eastwards runs on the first day through tracts which are comparatively thickly populated by Quichua-speaking Indians and mestizos. If one happens to make the journey during harvest-time, for instance in the month of August, one will everywhere see waving maize and barley fields, the most important cereals cultivated in Ecuador. On some fields the Indians may be seen harvesting, singing in chorus those peculiar harvest-songs which have been customary among the Quichuas since olden times and are believed to promote the work. The landscape is extremely picturesque and the ride over this highland, with snow-clad mountain-tops visible in all directions, and through the fertile Andean valleys offers much of interest. Late in the evening, after a ride of ten hours or more, the traveller arrives at Cevadas, a big village inhabited chiefly by mestizos, where he has to pass the night. This village forms the final limit between the relative civilization of the western mountain area and the desolate Paramo region, characteristic of the Ecuadorian highland in the east. The trail goes along the valley of the upper Chambo, a parent river of the Pastaza, [50] and is indescribably bad, like the whole way to Chanalá. Having traversed the valley, the

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 175 (1928-29)

traveller arrives in the evening at a village called Hatillo, or rather a collection of primitive grass-covered huts scattered over the Paramo. I have seldom seen a more God-forsaken place then this village, inhabited by a few families of wretched Quichua Indians. Hatillo being situated at a height of about 3,500 meters above sea-level, its inhabitants have to suffer all those inconveniences that the rude climate necessarily offers to people so poor and badly equipped for it as they are. The temperature generally remains near freezing-point, but not seldom sinks below it; the icy winds and rains mixed with snow which sweep over the paramo feel much colder here than elsewhere at a corresponding temperature. In the immediate neighbourhood of the dilapidated Indian huts rise bare and desolate rocks, some of them covered with eternal snow. Vegetation under such natural conditions must be the poorest possible; there are neither trees nor bushes, and cabbage and onions are the only edible plants which can be cultivated. The only resources of the inhabitants is the long and thick grass called *ichu*, which covers the ground in the paramo. It makes cattle-breeding possible to the Indians, and this as a matter of fact forms their only livelihood. From the milk of their cows and goats they prepare cheese which is exported to distant places, whence in return they obtain maize, potatoes, barley and other necessaries of life. Their dress is chiefly made of the skins obtained from their cattle and sheep.

I leave Hatillo on the following day, and having travelled for a couple of hours arrive

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 175 (1928-29)

~~at~~ the spot where the paramo definitely ends: it is a pass at about 4,000 meters where the descent on the forest area begins. Just before the traveller reaches this pass he skirts a beautiful lake, Colay, attracting attention by the snow-clad mountains which surround it and especially by the tree-covered island which rises in its centre. It seems curious and inexplicable that only this spot for many miles round should show such a luxurious vegetation.

Up on the very summit of the pass to which we clamber, following a trail which is in the most miserable condition, we suddenly discern to the right another lake in a huge natural basin formed by the high walls of the rocks. It is la laguna negra, 'the black lagoon', 'bottomlessly' deep, we are told and with a strangely black-looking water. It is from this lagoon that the streamlets originate which later on form the river Upano. This point forms the end of the plateau of Hatillo and the threshold of the Oriente. The descent begins along the huge, almost perpendicular [51] declivity which is called Galgalań. The mountain is at this point divided by the hand of nature, a tremendous cleft having been formed into which we have to precipitate ourselves. The descent into the abyss is rendered possible for the beasts, and for man, only by deep steps cut in the rock. The mules, accustomed to these terrible trails, are able to go down this staircase, but the traveller has to dismount and allow his beast to get on as best he can. A few minutes later we are in the forest where the vegetation, extremely scanty at first, gradually becomes more and more luxuriant, although the climate remains quite cold down to Chanala. The first place one arrives at after leaving the paramo is a village called Suñac, which can be reached in five hours from Hatillo. The village is situated in a lonely tract on the high bank of the Upano and consists of several houses including a sort of church, which we recognize by the great bells hanging under the roof. Approaching nearer, however, we find all houses abandoned, their inhabitants living in Chanala four hours journey farther down the valley. The Indians of this region, who are closely related to those of Hatillo, live at Suñac only during the season when the potatoes are harvested, but otherwise prefer to live at Chanala which, owing to a warmer climate, is more suitable for the cultivation of maize.

Chanala is the last point to which mules can travel towards the east, but although this village can be reached in four hours from Suñac, it is the worst part of the whole journey. An enormously high cordillera separates the slope of Suñac from the valley of Chanala and has to be crossed. The climbing of this cordillera with its muddy, rocky, and slippery trail and its abysses yawning on all sides is a perilous enterprise even for the trained beasts of the Indians, and were it not for the steps cut in the rock and the outcroppings of sandstone at the most dangerous places, no mule or horse would ever arrive at the other side. After a hard struggle for a couple of hours we are on the top of the ridge and a while later cross a dangerous bridge leading to the opposite side

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 175 (1928-29)

of the Upano. The village of Chanalá is situated on the left bank of this river on a mountain slope covered with verdure, from which one enjoys the most beautiful view over the wildest scenery imaginable: the enormous abyss below from the bottom of which is heard the eternal roar of the Upano rumbling its way down to join the Mother of the rivers, adjacent forest-clad mountains reaching to the clouds, and the endless virgin forest extending as far as eye can reach, combine to give the traveller an impression he will not easily forget. But the village itself with its still chilly and humid climate, its primitive houses scattered here and there, and its extremely poor in-[52] habitants is not a place where one cares to stay any longer than is absolutely necessary. Still I had, as always, to wait two or three days before the five or six bearers I wanted for the continuation of my journey to Macas were ready to start.

It takes three days to reach Macas from Chanalá. The pathway which leads down to that last outpost of civilization towards the east follows at first the left bank of the river. After a few hours we pass over a wire bridge to the right side which we follow until the end of the next day, or until we arrive at a place called Huilca. Here there is the house of a ferryman, appointed by the government, whose duty it is to take travellers to and from Macas over the river. This house was in 1920 the only one existing between Chanalá and Macas, and the traveller was consequently obliged to spend the first night in the forest, in a provisional rancho made by the bearers. When

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 175 (1928-29)

I made my last journey to Macas in 1929, however, conditions had been improved so far, that a well-built tambo had been arranged by the government, where the traveller could shelter for the night. This was the only improvement I could notice after the nearly ten years I had been absent. The pathway was equally muddy and dreadful in every way, the slopes equally steep and difficult to climb, the bridges over the numerous swamps and rivulets equally primitive, consisting as a rule of two or three slippery poles placed at random on the ground on which one had to balance, always at the risk of missing one's foothold and sinking to the knees in the mud-holes.

From Huilca it is less than one day's march to Macas. A big hill called Yungalli, which takes two hours and a half to climb over, still separates the traveller from the plains of Macas. Having passed the Yungalli we embark on a final stretch of level forest land through which a broad road is cut, leading directly to the village. When the weather is fine and no rain has fallen for some days, this road is comparatively dry and is walked along with comfort after the miserable trails left behind; but when it is raining heavily, as is more frequently the case, it is transformed into a swamp where the wanderer has to wade in mud over the ankles."

1: Karsten--52-53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 175 (1928-29)

"Macas is an interesting village in more than one respect. It is situated on the middle course of the Upano, in a tract which curiously enough seems to have been more thickly inhabited some three hundred years ago than nowadays. Close to the place where the village is now there was formerly the big town Sevilla de Oro, mentioned before in connection [53] with the wars which the savage Jibaro Indians waged against the whites. The very name, Sevilla de Oro, tells us that the district must once have been rich in gold, and, as we have seen, the destruction of this town was caused by the greed for gold displayed by the Spaniards. To-day nothing is known of the existence of gold in this part of the Oriente. In the Upano, as in other rivers in Eastern Ecuador, gold is found but only in small quantities, nor is there any evidence that the present-day Indians know of any gold-mines in the mountains, although such rumours have sometimes been current."

1: Karsten--53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although not comparable with the old Sevilla de Oro, Macas is nevertheless quite a big place, having some three or four hundred inhabitants. All of these are mestizos, of a kind found nowhere else in Ecuador. To a great extent they are no doubt descendants of those Jibaro Indians who destroyed the town in 1599 and the white women, who became the captors and wives of the victors. They still have many traits in common with their savage neighbours; their mode of life and their customs are in many respects the same, as also their character. Thus, although the 'Macabeos' are of course strictly Catholic in their religion, they adhere to the old custom of blood-revenge, particularly characteristic of the Jibaros to this very day. They are intelligent, brave, active, and industrious, just as are the Jibaros. Owing to these qualities and to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, agriculture is highly developed and cattle-breeding is an important occupation."

1: Karsten--53-55 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 177 (1928-29)

"The village is situated in the midst of the virgin forest and practically embedded in vegetation. Through its centre a broad pathway runs from which narrower sinuous side-ways branch off to the right and the left. One of these leads to a high hill where the convent and the church are situated. On all sides the village is surrounded by high hills covered with forests, and towards the south-west the majestic volcano Sangay raises its crater, covered with eternal snow, towards the sky. It is difficult to imagine a place more picturesque and better endowed by nature. Still this village all through bears a primitive stamp. The houses are of the same kind as the great communal houses of the Jibaros, although they are generally smaller and constructed with less care. The interior with its earthen floor, the bedsteads of split bamboo, and the almost total absence of furniture in the strict sense of the word, also reminds one of the Jibaro houses. Even a great signal drum, of the same type as that [54] of the Indians, is as a rule found in the houses at Macas. Just as the Jibaros beat the drum to communicate for instance to the neighbours that a death has taken place in the house, so the Macabeos do the same, a custom which makes a strange impression upon a European visitor.

The dress of the inhabitants of Macas is almost as primitive as that of their savage neighbours, consisting principally of a loin-cloth and a shirt. Trousers are seldom worn and shoes never. During wanderings in the forest the Macabeo wears a sort of sandal made of cowhide. On such occasions moreover he always carries that indispensable weapon and implement of the South America forest-wanderer, the big forest-knife, machete, and usually his old-fashioned shot-gun, a muzzle-loader, which he prefers to guns or rifles of modern make. I never had companions more expert in cutting through the thickets of the virgin forest, in crossing rapid rivers in canoes, and generally in overcoming all the numerous difficulties which meet a traveller in the South American wilderness.

The character of the Macabeo shows the same general features as that of the Ecuadorian mestizo, although with certain peculiar traits due, I think to his Jibaro descent. He is cheerful, good-hearted, and extremely hospitable, loving, as do all mestizos, dancing and merry-making, wine and women. The 'wine' is the chuya, the national drink of the inhabitants of Macas, brewed of maize and sugar cane which is boiled and allowed to ferment. The chuya is quite intoxicating, and since at the great drinking-feasts it is consumed in enormous quantities, these feasts not seldom end in quarrels and fights, and even manslaughter. The public feasts at Macas in general are little edifying. An important role in them is played by the cock-fights which here, as elsewhere Ecuador, form the most popular public amusement. Another game which is frequently witnessed is the following. A living cock is buried in the earth so that only the head and the neck protrude. One of the men taking part in the game is blindfolded and is given a machete. He is taken to the place where the cock is buried and

1: Karsten--53-55 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
526, 177 (1928-29)

starts to strike with his machete along the ground in all directions, his task being to cut off the cock's head with so and so many strokes; if he is successful the beheaded cock becomes his property. This is repeated with another man and another cock, and so forth. These rude amusements are very characteristic of the cruelty to animals which in South America is so often displayed both by mestizos and whites.

I have mentioned before that some of the natives of Macas know the Jibaro language fairly well and that during my travels in the regions [55] of Upano aid Pastaza I was always accompanied by servants and interpreters from Macas. One of my best companions was an elderly man, Dionysio Rivadeneira by name, who knew the Indians well and was a great help to me in studying their customs and language. Although Don Dionysio had many friends among the Jibaros he sometimes, owing to his hot temper, quarrelled with them. When I visited Macas the last time in 1929 my old friend was seriously ill; according to his own belief he had been poisoned by an Indian enemy on the Upano. The Jibaros, it should be added, know certain vegetable poisons which they use against their secret enemies, especially against the whites, since according to their idea the magic arrow of the Indians has no effect upon a white man. Whether Don Dionysio's misgivings as to the origin of his illness were justified, I was not able to establish."

1: Karsten--54 Jivaro
116, 342

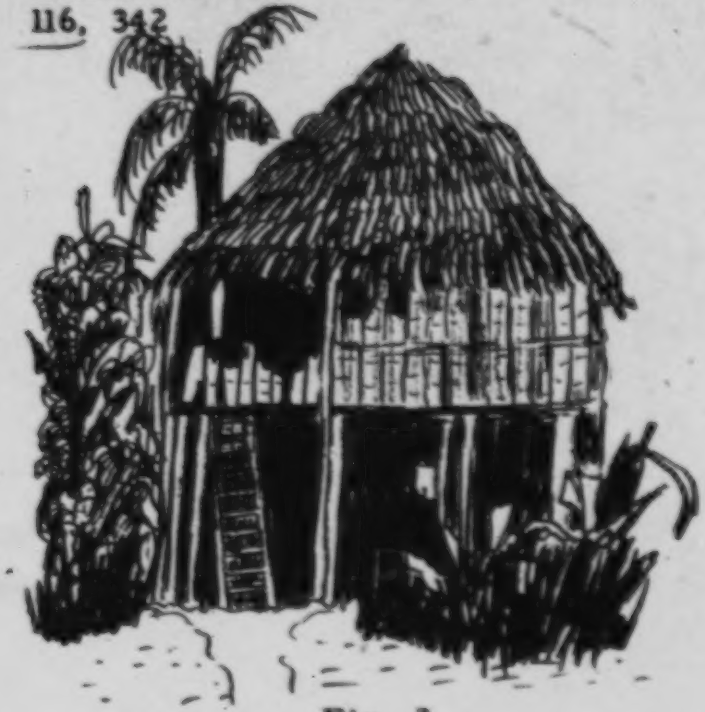


Fig. 2.

A typical bamboo house at Macas. Inhabited by the government's representative.

1: Karsten--56-57 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116 (1928-29)

"Up to the beginning of this century the Upano was commonly described as being a northern tributary of the Morona; as such it still figures in Wolff's well-known geography of Ecuador of 1892. The Upano in reality forms part of the Santiago river system, the other main affluent of which is the Rio Paute. Both the Morona and the Santiago are affluents of the great river Amazonas or Marañon, but the Morona has a far more easterly course. From the village of Macas it is a journey of three or four days to the Morona or, as the river is called by the Jibaros, the Cusuima. The distance between this river and the Upano may be about 50 or 60 miles, but the extremely bad condition of the trails and the tremendous cordillera Cutucuíu which the traveller has to cross makes it seem much longer than it really is. I never reached the upper Morona, because I had enough to do among the Upano and the Pastaza tribes. It was important, however, for me to establish that the Huambizas of the upper Morona have exactly the same culture as the other Jibaro tribes visited by me.

I have lived at Macas only during the short intervals between my excursions to the savage inhabitants of the tract. Some of the Indians were in the habit of paying occasional visits to the village for the purpose of selling salt or deer's flesh which the Jibaros never eat themselves. Sometimes I took Indians there myself in order to get imformation [sic] from them on particular questions. Most of my studies, however, have been carried out during lengthy journeys in the country of the Indians, when I usually stayed in each house for some days. There are in fact no regions in Ecuador I have explored so thoroughly as those situated east of the Andes from the Santiago in the south to the upper Pastaza in the north, and nowhere have my studies given more abundant results. [57]

Here I shall only give a short account of the expedition I made to the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and which is of particular interest inasmuch as I was able to be present at the most important feast of the Jibaro Indians, the great victory feast *Einsupani.* I started on this expedition at the end of August in 1917, being accompanied by Don Dionysio, my boy Leon and two more youths from Macas who carried my luggage. Having crossed the broad, rapid river by canoe with great difficulty--the Upano is not navigable at Macas--and climbed the high *barranca* on the other side, we were again in the wilderness, in a country which the savage Indians regard as their undisputed property. The regions north of the Upano are comparatively thickly populated, but, as in other parts of tropical South America, the houses lie very scattered and no real village communities are found. Close to the river there are no Indian settlements; generally one has to march for half-a-day to arrive at the first Jibaro house. There is much intercourse, however, between those Indians who are neighbours and belong to the same sub-tribe. Frequently small parties of wandering

Indians are met on the trail, some paying visits to other houses, others hunting, and since Indian etiquette requires that conversation shall be engaged in with every friend or stranger met, there were several delays on our march.

About three days' journey to the north from Macas there is the small river Arapicos, a western affluent of the Pastaza. On the upper course of this river there are several Jibaro settlements, and the Indians were still living in their natural state at the time when I first visited them. Shortly afterwards they consented to be 'reduced' in a village which is to-day called Arapicos, and this place was at times visited by a Catholic 'Padre' who tried to instruct them in the Christian faith. I have visited Arapicos several times passing from Macas to Canelos or vice versa, and shall presently mention it again. This time my nearest goal was a community of Jibaro Indians living on the Rio Chiguaza, another small affluent of the Pastaza, situated about midway between the Upano and the Arapicos, although somewhat more towards the east. While staying at Macas I had been told by an Indian who occasionally visited the village that a great victory-feast was to be held at Chiguaza by an Indian named Shakaëma. We were then actually in search of Shakaëma's house, and since he was well-known to the Indians of the tract we had no difficulty in finding it. We also received, from Indians whom we met, confirmation of the rumour that he was preparing for a victory-feast. The only uncertain thing was whether we should be allowed to be present at it."

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro P-29
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

"On the following day, early in the afternoon, we arrived at the house where the feast was to take place. Having given in good time the necessary signal with the cow's horn we entered the house where the usual greeting ceremonies were exchanged. It was incumbent on Don Dionysio to explain who I was, what the object of my visit, and to ask permission for us to be present at the approaching great feast. The Indians of course are just as disinclined to receive uninvited guests at their feasts as are civilised people, particularly as they always fear evil supernatural influences from strangers. The fact that the host Shakaëma not only received us in a friendly way but even gave us permission to stay in the house the whole time the feast lasted, was due, partly to the eloquence of my companion, but perhaps still more to the presents I gave him and the other members of the family. Shakaëma himself got a nice machete (forest-knife), and each of his wives a collar of beads, needles, thread, and small round mirrors being distributed among the other members of the family. Shakaëma was quite pleased and declared that he had in fact known that a party of strangers would arrive, for he had taken natéma some days ago and seen us in a dream. Shakaëma was a man of about fifty-five or sixty years old, a professional warrior and sorcerer, who in fact enjoyed a bad reputation among his neighbours, and was greatly feared by his many enemies among other Jibaro tribes. With his three full-grown sons, who also lived in the house, and a party of other Indians from among his kinsmen, he had two years before made

1: Karsten: 59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

—

war upon a tribe living on the Copataza. The attack had been successful in so far as a head had been captured, and this happy incident had to be celebrated with a feast. When an attack has been successfully carried out, the victor *par excellence* is the warrior who has cut off the head of the enemy killed. This happy lot had fallen to one of Shakaëma's sons, a youth of 18 or 20 years, who was consequently the principal person at the feast. As is [60] the rule in similar cases, the young man was in the dress of a penitent, wore only his loin-cloth and no ornament or facial paintings and had his long hair hanging loose down the back. Similarly he had to diet himself strictly.

While we were conversing with Shakaëma and his son about the coming feast, the women of the house, that is to say, Shakaëma's two wives, two of his daughters and one daughter-in-law, were mixing the manioc substance in clay vessels partly filled with water, and handing this favourite beer of the Indians round to the guests in the house. My companions from Macas appreciated it almost as much as did the Indians themselves, but for my own part I only took a draught from the vessel offered me and return it again to my hostess. My moderation caused my hosts some displeasure, but I diverted their attention from this topic by showing them some of the things I had brought with me. Many of these as unusual awakened the curiosity and fear of the Indians. My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [ sic ] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an *iguanchi* (evil spirit) would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed. 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaíma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father. [61]

The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar "etiquette" customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report.

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

Having been allowed to be present at the feast, I had placed my field-bed at one of the big pillars in the middle of the house. Since, as I found later on, the chief dance during the feast was performed every night round the central pillars of the house, I had to spend my nights in the middle of the dancing Indians and consequently could hardly think of sleeping. The Indians, it should be understood, start to dance as soon as darkness sets in and continue until dawn, or about five o'clock, and they accompany their dance by constant chanting and shouting. Since the main feast lasted for six days and nights, it will be easily understood that participating in an Indian scalp-feast is really a feat of strength and endurance. The first night I had no rest at all; the ghastly dance, saturated with mystery and performed amid a dreadful noise, impressed me too much and, besides, there were many interesting things to watch and note down. The following night it was about the same. But the [62] third night I decided to sleep, put cotton wool in my ears, and gave some of it to my companions also. Tired to the utmost I really succeeded in sleeping a few hours in spite of the noisy dance going on around me. Still at five o'clock in the morning when I awoke some of the women went on dancing and chanting their monotonous óa...óa--óa-ó...aó, as they had done all the night. I could not even notice that they were hoarse, which greatly struck me. At six o'clock the whole party, both men and women, rushed down to the river and had a bathe, and with this the night's ceremony was over--to begin again in the following

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

- evening.

From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaíma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house.

Nevertheless a white man, visiting the savage Jibaros on an occasion like this, has to be extremely careful in dealing with the Indians. This is best shown by the following incident which took place at the end of the feast, and which could easily have led to most serious consequences. One of the ceremonies at the great victory feast, as we shall see later on, is the slaughter of the swine and the hens, which takes place the day before the feast ends. In the evening the hosts and hostesses were engaged [63] in cooking the meat in big clay pots placed on different fires all round on the earthen floor. I saw an Indian moving a boiling clay pot to adjust it--when suddenly he fell backwards, shouting loudly, with the pot, which was broken and poured out a part of its hot contents upon him, whereupon he dropped down on the floor and remained lying in convulsions with the mouth open. There arose a terrible hubbub and excitement. All at first thought that he had only been burned, and so I believed myself also, although the symptoms seemed to me strange. My first intention was to give the Indian what help I could, but I was warned by my more experienced companions not to do anything. They told me, what aferwards I really found to be true, that if among the Jibaros someone undertakes to cure a patient, and the latter nevertheless dies, the physician will unfailingly be made responsible for the death, the law of blood-revenge being applied to him. Such is the logic of these Indians. In any case the cause of the accident had to be cleared up,

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

and it was characteristic of the Indian train of thought that the worst consequences were anticipated. 'He will die, he will die', one of the women exclaimed in a heart-piercing voice. 'Why has he burned himself, why must he die', were questions which arose from all sides, and these strange questions were particularly addressed to me. Soon the questions became indirect or direct accusations. 'Why must he die'?, the host of the house asked vehemently, turning towards me. --'He has only burned himself', I answered, 'he will not die but recover.'--'No, the Indian replied, 'he has not burned himself, it was something else; what was it that flew into him in the same moment as he fell?' I began to realize the danger of the situation and my interpreter who fully understood the language of the Indians realized it still better. The Indians looked upon me as a powerful strange medicine-man and it was clear that they believed that I had bewitched their comrade. I saw them assembled in groups and conversing in commotion, now and then pointing at me and my companions and looking at us with threatening looks and gestures. Of course, I was the person against whom their wrath would turn in the first place. Several circumstances arousing suspicion were moreover mentioned to my interpreter. Thus the Indian who had been the first to tell me about the feast had shortly afterwards fallen ill with a fever so that he had not been able to be present at the feast at all.

I: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

Probably the white man had brought the sickness with him. Another Indian who had engaged to carry a part of my luggage on my return, had afterwards accidentally cut himself in the foot, causing a gaping wound, and so forth. [64]

The situation was not enviable. I was almost alone far away in the virgin forest, in the midst of fifty or sixty savage Indians, all professional murderers so to speak, all more or less drunk and excited, all well armed even with firearms, Indians whose brutality and revengeful spirit when witchcraft is in question I knew sufficiently well. The principal thing in such a situation is to remain perfectly calm and show no fear. I did not even look at my own gun and rifle which were standing in a corner of the house, and I pretended not to understand the accusations of the Indians at all, making light of the incident and declaring that the Indian would soon recover. It was lucky that my companions behaved in the same way and that my interpreter proved so clever in Indian 'diplomacy' as he did. Still I understood that my own fate very probably depended on the fate of the sick Indian. He had been carried to a corner of the house where he had ultimately fallen asleep. The Indians seemed gradually to become calmer and at last even began to dance. As for myself, it was many hours before I could compose myself to sleep, since of course it was uncertain what turn the illness of the Indian would take. The following morning, however, the condition of the patient was much better; he had recovered consciousness and the power of speech and was himself able to give an

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

explanation of the accident. His burns were insignificant, but he had evidently had a heart attack and had fallen in consequence. Of course, even this attack, according to the Indians' way of reasoning, had some mysterious cause; but the fact that the man did not die but recovered made the incident lose its importance, and it was quite probable that this happy issue saved my own life. It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder.

The cause of the heart attack to which the Indian very nearly fell a victim must no doubt be sought in the fact that the Indians at their feasts consume tremendous quantities of tobacco water, which is very likely to affect the health of persons suffering from a weak heart.

Experiences of this kind however made me long to get away from the house and the noisy feast as soon as possible. Happily it was to be concluded on the following day, and having witnessed the last ceremony, the 'Dressing of the victor', and the final ceremonial drinking-bout I took leave of my host and his family to continue my journey to the upper Pastaza. Shaka$^{e}$ma was now quite friendly again and behaved as [65] if he had wholly forgotten the incident, which the day before had made him look upon me as an evil witch-doctor and almost as an enemy.

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-11
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited.

Having finished my studies of the head-feast on the Rio Chiguaza, I did not immediately return to Macas, but continued my journey towards the north, my plan being,

1: Karsten--30-7 )
116, 796, 727

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-12

first to pay a vis t to Canelos, and then to return to civilization for some time via
Ambato. To rea h Canelos I had first to pass through Arapicos, the small Jibaro vil-
lage on the river of the same name, thereupon to ascend the small river Pindu, and
lastly to continu on foot through the forests for about three days more. My journey,
for different rea ons, became extremely trying. It had been raining for a couple of
days, and the gr und through which we had to walk had become like a marsh and the
rivers had swoll n. There were two rivers that we had to cross to get to Arapicos, a
branch of the Ch guaza and the Arapicos itself. The former is not very broad but
extremely rapid and can only be crossed by wading. If the water has considerably risen
owing to heavy r in, the stream cannot be crossed, or only with great danger. When
we arrived at th river, the Indians declared, as I had indeed feared, that it was im-
possible to cros it then and that we must wait on the bank until the following day. This
statement by [64 no means pleased me, especially since we were in danger of running
short of food, w ich could not be obtained in these uninhabited regions. Happily the
water seemd [si ] to be sinking, and on the following morning we were able to cross
the stream, alth ugh with great difficulty. The same day in the afternoon we reached
the river Arapic s, and within an hour had crossed over to the other side where the
village is situat d.

At Arapicos I met one of the Catholic missionaries in the Ecuadorian Oriente, Father

Agustin de Leon, whose acquaintance I had made before at Canelos. In his company I undertook an interesting expedition to a big cave situated on the right bank of the Pastaza about one day's journey from Arapicos. The cave is known among the Indians as the *tayu*-cave, after the bird which inhabits it. This is the guacharo or oil-bird (*Steatornis caripensis*), called *tayu* by the Jibaros. Father Leon and I decided to make an excursion to this cave, which had scarcely been visited by any white man before. The whole region, that is to say, the big corner bounded by the Arapicos in the north and the right bank of the Pastaza, is geographically very little known. The only human beings who are in the habit of visiting the *tayu*-cave regularly are the Jibaro Indians of the district. Their great attraction is the *tayu*-bird which they appreciate extremely both on account of its meat, which they eat, its oil which they likewise find very useful, and especially its leg-bones from which they prepare the most costly ornament they wear at their feasts, the so-called *tayukunchi*, to be described later on. Our guides were partly Indians from the mission of Arapicos, partly savage Jibaro Indians from the other side of the river.

The *tayu*-cave really turned out to be of considerable interest. There are three caves in this tract at some distance from each other, and we decided to penetrate the biggest of them which nevertheless was the one approached with the greatest difficulty. Its entrance was wide, but its position was such that it could not easily be photographed.

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-16
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

The cave appeared to consist of different compartments, of which the first one formed a kind of "hall", as large as a small room. Even here we encountered some of the winged inhabitants of this gloomy place, the guacharo birds which, frightened from their nests and screaming loudly, flew about our heads. It was not, however, until we had penetrated further that it became clear to me what enormous numbers of this bird the cave sheltered.

From the "hall" mentioned a narrow entrance, through which one had to crawl on all fours, led to the interior of the cave, which here [67] branched off in all directions into the mountain. The danger of going astray in this subterranean labyrinth was great, but we could rely upon the Indians, who were not visiting the cave for the first time. On entering it they had at once kindled their copal torches, by the light of which we cautiously went forwards, following the main branch. The farther we penetrated, the louder became the screaming of the owl-like birds which lived in the cave, and whose number seemed to be constantly increasing. The nests of the birds were high up on the shelves formed by the rocks, in funnel-like holes, and turned out to contain enormous numbers of young. The Indians often climbed up and caught them, putting them quickly in baskets which they had brought for this very purpose. I myself had brought my gun which I fired twice, killing some of the flying birds. The Indians however would not allow me to continue this, fearing lest the walls of the cave should burst in consequence of the dreadful detonation and perhaps also believing that the mysterious spirits of this subterranean dwelling would get angry and punish us. Our stay in the cave lasted for about one hour. We did not go as far as was possible and as far as the Indians have sometimes penetrated the interior when going alone. Taking a considerable number of full-grown birds which had been killed, and a still greater number of young, partly dead, partly living, we again tried to find our way out into the daylight.

How far the cave extends into the interior of the mountain is unknown, since no one has dared to explore it thoroughly. Father Leon and I only penetrated about thirty or forty meters into it. The river Pastaza, which flows at a short distance from the mountain where the cave is situated and the waters of which still at times rise to its level, has of course had a share in its formation. The thorough exploration of the cave would be a most dangerous undertaking owing to its many ramifications. Besides the savage Indians, there is another creature which is in the habit of regularly visiting the tayu-cave, namely, the jaguar. Being a skilful climber, this beast can easily reach the nests of the guacharo birds, although they are situated high up on the rocky shelves, giving himself a nice feast on the young. The Indians who followed us on this trip told us that the last time they visited the cave they had heard the grunting of the jaguar from the interior and had hastily retired.

The guacharo bird was discovered by Alexander v. Humboldt more than a hundred years ago in the Caripe cave in Venezuela, but is known to exist in a few other places, e.g. in the north-west of South America. In Ecuador, as far as I know, the tayu-caves on the Pastaza are the only [68] localities where it exists, so it is a comparatively rare bird. Its mode of life--the guacharo of course is a night-bird--and the gloomy places where it dwells make the Indians look upon it with superstition, which however does not prevent them from eating it. It is supposed to be an incarnation of the souls of the dead, a superstition which also accounts for the mysterious power which its fat and its bones are believed to contain.

Having returned to Arapicos, I stayed there a few more days for the purpose of making studies among the Indians, whereupon I continued my journey to the upper Pastaza, to the point where the small river Pindu empties its waters into it. Pastaza in this region is a broad and very powerful river, forming numerous cataracts and, as I have stated before, does not become navigable until it has received its northern affluent the Bobonaza. The savage Jibaro Indians, extremely skilled as they are in managing canoes, are the only ones who use the waterway when they visit one another or--as has happened very frequently--make hostile attacks on other tribes. Between the Pindu and the Bobonaza there is a third small affluent of the Pastaza from the north, the river Copataza. Here there lived a Jibaro tribe with whom the Chirapas had been at war a couple of years before I arrived. The Chirapas had succeeded in bringing home a head--and it was this head that had given rise to the victory-feast at which I had just been present.

From Arapicos to the Pastaza it is a march of one day and a half through the virgin forest. This region is wholly uninhabited, and consequently unusually rich in game. Wild pigs, deer, monkeys, and all sorts of birds, especially the wild turkey and the curious trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans) are frequently seen and can easily be shot. Even the jaguar is common, as one may judge from the numerous tracks encountered. The first night I had, as usual, to spend in the middle of the forest in a primitive shelter made of palm leaves. In the morning my Indians found that a big jaguar had during the night beaten about our camp, without however daring to attack us. The jaguar in fact avoids man and is therefore seldom seen, although quite common in Eastern Ecuador.

We arrived at the Pastaza at the spot where it receives the small affluent Pindu from the north. Then we crossed the former in a canoe which my Indians had ready for the purpose and started to ascend the Pindu. This river, although carrying comparatively little water, is very rapid and not navigable in the strict sense of the word. To take the canoe up the many cataracts, the Indians have continually to get into [69] the water and pull it over the stones; in fact, they work as much in the water as in the canoe. When the river is running high, which is frequently the case owing to the heavy rains, it cannot be ascended at all. Twice during my journeys from Macas to Canelos I have been delayed on the bank of the Pindu, waiting for the water to go down. The worst place to pass is a cataract called Guineo Sass by the Canelos Indians. Here the canoe has to be pulled up a rock where the water is rushing out with extraordinary force between two other big stones. On the journey I am describing I had a narrow escape from shipwreck in this cataract. I myself had been carried to the shore from where I watched the attempts of the Indians to take the canoe up the violent cataract. Two of them placed themselves above the cataract pulling the canoe by a big liana tied to the front of it, while two more Indians were pushing it from the stern, standing in the rushing water up to the waist. With great difficulty they succeeded in pulling the canoe a few feet up the rock--when suddenly the liana burst and the canoe, which the two Indians at the stern were not able to hold, began to slide down the cataract owing to the pressure of the mass of water. In a moment it was half-filled and was in immediate danger of upsetting, in which case I should have lost all my luggage, among other things all my valuable notes and photographs. My Indians however saved the situation by throwing themselves immediately into the eddy, when they succceeded in keeping the canoe on an even keel until they had pulled it to the shore. Here it was emptied of its water and a new and more successful attempt was made to take it up the cataract. The only thing I lost through this accident was a basket with living hens which I had brought from Arapicos. When the stern of the canoe where the basket had been placed filled with water the torrent carried it away, and it was not possible for the Indians to save the hens.

The Guineo Sass has a bad reputation among those Indians and mestizos who use this water route. Some months before I made this journey one of the Fathers from the mission of Canelos had tried to descend the Pindu on his way to Arapicos. The canoe had been upset in the cataract, and the Father had lost all his luggage, saving his life only by swimming to the shore.

Having ascended the Pindu for about one day and a half we arrived at a point where there is an Indian trail direct to the villages Puyu and Canelos. I thus had to continue my journey overland and expected to reach Canelos in two days. This time, however, it took me three days [70] to get there, owing to an unforeseen accident. During my stay in the Indian house at the Chiguaza sand-flies had bitten one of my toes which became inflamed and rendered walking very difficult, and at last almost impossible. These tiny insects, almost invisible to the naked eye, are very common in the houses of the Indians and are a great annoyance to a white visitor, indeed to the Indians also. Boring into the skin, preferably under the nail, they cause an infection in a few days which, unless the insect is at once cautiously removed with a needle, may become dangerous, especially owing to the difficulty of keeping the little wound clean while marching. My swollen and aching toe caused me great suffering during this march, being, as I was, unable to attend to it and obliged to walk wet from morning till evening. Some distances my Indians tried to carry me on a sort of litter, but since they had to carry my luggage also, this way of marching proved impossible for any length of time. Besides this, during our march through the forest we were surprised by one of the heaviest downpours I have witnessed in Eastern Ecuador, which lasted for three hours. In an extremely miserable condition I arrived at Canelos, although, on the other hand, I had no reason to be discontented with the results of my long expedition. It was eight days before I had recovered sufficiently to be able to start on my final return journey to Ambato and civilization. I arrived there in the beginning of 1918."

1: Karsten--71 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"The expedition which I undertook to Western Amazonas in 1928-1929 had for its chief object a further study of certain particular customs, a general survey of the whole Jibaro culture, and, last but not least, a visit to the country of the Aguarunas, the southernmost tribe of the Jibaro people. In this chapter I propose to give a short account of this expedition which covered nearly the whole enormous area inhabited by the Jibaros, taking me along the Bobonaza and Pastaza down to the Marañon and further to one of its southern affluents, the small river Apaga."

1: Karsten--71-79 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116 (1928-29)

"After repeated visits to the Indians of the Upano--where, among other things, I was present at a great 'tobacco feast'--I proceeded to Canelos, to see old friends and to make certain investigations. Canelos was also to be the starting-point for my expedition down to the Marañon. For this purpose I had to make the necessary arrangements with my Indian companions, who are indispensable on expeditions of this nature. To find native servants willing to accompany me on my long journey, however, proved extremely difficult. On the whole I had suffered bad luck from the very moment I set foot in the country of the Indians. The whole of Eastern Ecuador at that time [JKM: 1928-29] seemed to be suffering from an epidemic of measles, a malady which among the natives is by no means the innocent disease of children it generally is in Europe. I had found it raging among the Jibaros of the Upano also, and since the Indians rightly conclude that such epidemics come from the whites, it had been extremely difficult for me to get in touch with the Jibaros of that region. A white man entering an Indian house was at first looked upon almost as an enemy. During my stay on the Upano, however, I never thought of the region of Canelos too being visited by measles, as I now found to be the case. When I arrived there I was told that the [72] village was practically empty, the Indians shunning it for fear of the epidemic and living now scattered here and there in their tambos along the river. There was little hope of persuading some of the fugitives to return to the village and enter my service. It looked for a moment as if I should have to put off my journey to the Marañon.

I was, however, fortunate enough at last to find the man who could help me out of my difficulty. This was a half-civilized Indian named Acevedo, a native of Canelos, but now living at a place on the upper Pindu called Intillama. Acevedo not only knew the whole of Eastern Ecuador down to the Marañon, but had also been to the Sierra and visited both the capital Quito and Ambato. He spoke Spanish fairly well and knew the value of money almost more than was desirable. He was a comparatively wealthy man for an Indian and consequently enjoyed a certain reputation among his fellow-tribesmen in the region of Canelos. This man now offered me his services, promising, for a payment of 100 American dollars, to accompany me for the whole of my expedition down to the Marañon and the Aguarunas, and to get a canoe and the necessary Indian crew for the purpose. Although the payment he demanded seemed to me somewhat exorbitant, I had to accept his offer, if I wanted to pursue my plan. It was really a long expedition that I was preparing, and for Acevedo who would have to return the same way the whole journey would take at least three months. For my own part I proposed, after my visit to the Aguarunas, to go to the own Iquitos and thence continue to the Peruvian Sierra ascending the great river Ucayali. Besides this, my Indians had got the idea that the expedition would be rather a perilous enterprise. Not only the Aguarunas, whom we were to seek out, had a bad nane because of their savage and warlike character, like all Jibaro Indians; on the nether Pastaza there was another savage Indian tribe particularly dreaded by the Canelos Indians at that time. These savages, called Muratos, had some months previously treacherously assaulted and killed a party of Indians from Canelos as they descended the Pastaza on the way to the Marañon, the reason for their hostility being that the Canelos Indians had brought an epidemic to their country to which several Murato Indians had fallen victim. Although I had reason to believe that the misgivings of the Indians were exaggerated, I still had to admit that their claims to compensation for a journey they considered risky were in a way excusable.

Both in Ecuador and Peru I have frequently been asked why I always travel in the wilds of tropical South America alone, except for Indians [73] and mestizos, whose reliability must generally be doubtful. The reason of course is the difficulty of getting suitable white companions for such expeditions. Few Europeans can stand the climate in the interior of South America, not to mention all those trials to which a traveller is subject during expeditions in these regions lasting for many months or even for years. My own experience, however, is that a European travelling off the beaten track with only native servants, if not actually risking his life--which may also be the case--has at any rate to overcome many difficulties which he could avoid if only he were accompanied by one single reliable white man. During the long expedition I am now describing I had again good opportunity to confirm this experience. The inconstancy and unreliability of Acevedo and his men more than once put my patience to the severest tests.

We left Canelos on the 4th of January 1929. Since on my expedition to the Achuares twelve years earlier I went the same way down to the middle Pastaza, and have described that journey in a previous chapter, I shall only say a few words about the latter part of my journey and my visit among the Aguarunas. We reached the Pastaza on the eighth day after leaving Canelos. A few hours later we expected to arrive at Andoas which before had been the last outpost of the Ecuadorian government towards the south. To my astonishment, however, I found no trace of the whole 'village', which at the time of my first journey had consisted of two houses only. Evidently the garrison had been withdrawn by the Ecuadorian government; I could not even find the place where the houses had stood. One day's journey further down the river had been the settlement of the rubber merchant who had helped me to come into contact with the Achuares. Even this settlement, both the houses and the manioc and banana plantations, had disappeared; it had been entirely swallowed by the virgin forest. Moreover, I noticed that the Shimigay Indians, the only ones who live on the banks of the Pastaza, had diminished or retired to the interior parts of the country, so that only a few families of them were encountered by us. It seemed that man, be he Indian or white, does not get on well on the Pastaza in spite of all that nature bounteously gives him in these regions. Civilisation had certainly made no progress here in ten or twelve years. The decay of the caoutchouc trade after the great war and the unhealthy climate at the middle course of the river may be the principal causes of this phenomenon. We travelled down the river for about a fortnight without meeting other human beings than the inhabitants of a solitary Indian house. Not even the [74] savage Muratos, so feared by my Indian companions, were seen. At the nether Pastaza, near its confluence with the Marañon, we found a Peruvian commissariate, the chief of which, Sr. Arturo Rojas, received me with great hospitality and provided me with certain articles of food of which we were in need. At Canelos I had not been able to buy other provisions for my journey than some bottles of sugar cane syrup, which in Eastern Ecuador is commonly used instead of real sugar. Instead of coffee, which I could not obtain anywhere, I drank a preparation of the leaves of the guayusa-tree (Ilex) which grows everywhere in the forests in these regions and which I learnt to appreciate more than real tea. Manioc and plantain I could obtain in sufficient quantities from the Indian houses on the Bobonaza, but for meat we were entirely dependent on hunting. Since the uninhabited large forests of the Pastaza are very rich in game, we had no difficulty in getting meat, and my Indians were sometimes able to eke out our store of food by fishing. Still the menu was rather monotonous and I was glad to be approaching the comparative civilization I expected to meet on the Marañon, where at any rate big haciendas are to be found and where river steamers from Iquitos make tours.

In its middle course, or south of its confluence with the Bobonaza, the Pastaza is a very broad but on the whole shallow river, forming numerous islands and large sandbanks. The current is strong, but there seems to be no regular channel for its waters. Often, when travelling in the middle of the river and believing one is in deep water, the canoe runs against a sandbank, and the traveller has to look for a new way for his vessel. The Pastaza is therefore not navigable here even for small steamers, and Peruvian river steamers have been able to ascend it only up to the mouth of the Huazaga.

I reached the Marañon, as the river Amazon is called in its upper course, the 21st of January. Even at the mouth of the Pastaza the Mother of rivers is imposing in its breadth, which according to my calculation is about two or three miles. With its numerous large islands separated from one another by narrow channels--called chigta by the Indians-- the river is like an enormous water labyrinth where it is frequently difficult for an inexperienced traveller to find his way. Although the vegetation on the banks of the river and the islands is luxuriant, the forests are on the whole low and the country flat. Inundations during the rainy season are therefore frequent, naturally giving rise to the numerous swamps and lagoons for which the Amazon is famous. At the [75] mouth of the Pastaza the whole tract looks just as desolate and uninhabited as the regions I had just left behind me, and the haciendas on which I had counted turned out to be much fewer than I had imagined.

According to my agreement with Acevedo, the Indians were to accompany me on the expedition to the Aguarunas living in the neighbourhood of Pongo de Manseriche, after which they were to take me to Iquitos or stay with me until I could catch a steamer for the next part of my journey. This involved ascending the Marañon from Pastaza for several days. The exact dwelling-places of the Aguarunas were unknown to me and of course also to my Indians, who had never travelled on the upper Marañon, and my intention was to try to get an Indian guide in some hacienda, who could bring me into contact with the savages. I knew that the Aguarunas do not live on the banks of the river, but somewhere in the interior of the country. On the river there are only found a few houses inhabited by half-civilized Cocama Indians speaking Quichua, but these would probably know nothing about the Aguarunas whom they greatly fear. The only ones who could help me were the hacienda-owners whose mestiz peons know the Marañon best, but the question was whether the former would be willing to give me their peons and, if so, what payment they would demand for this service.

In addition to this difficulty, I met, shortly after my arrival at the Marañon, with a misfortune which threatened to prevent the continuance of my journey on the original plan. Two of my Indians had caught malaria in the unhealthy regions of the Pastaza and were now almost incapable of work. To start on a more or less adventurous expedition up the rapid currents of the Marañon without an adequate Indian crew seemed out of question. A fortunate chance helped me out of this difficulty. Upon a big sandbank in the middle of the river we unexpectedly encountered a party of Indians from Canelos, who some months previously had descended the Pastaza in their canoes for the purpose of fetching salt from the Huallaga--expeditions which are now and then undertaken by the Indians of the mission. They were now ready to return with their cargoes of salt, but for fear of the savage Muratos who were supposed to haunt the Pastaza region they hesitated to start on the return journey alone. They had now lived for several weeks on the sandbank, maintaining life by fishing and by doing some work on an hacienda in the neighbourhood. To these poor Indians our arrival was quite welcome: since Acevedo and his men had to return the same way, it was decided that the Indians should wait for our return from the Aguarunas and then [76] make the journey up to Canelos in his company. I was moreover able to arrange that the two sick Indians of my own crew should remain on the sandbank and be replaced by two men of the other party while our expedition to the Aguarunas lasted. In consequence of this my stay among these Indians would probably be shorter than I had calculated, but the principal thing for me was that I could pursue my scheme of visiting them.

Having arranged things in this way and given orders that the sick Indians should be tended as carefully as circumstances permitted, I started upon my new expedition with an Indian crew reinforced in the way indicated. On the second day we arrived at a big hacienda called San Antonio, owned by a Peruvian of German descent, Sr. Guillermo v. Bancels. He was able to give me the first information concerning the Aguarunas, telling me that at present they lived on the upper Rio Apaga, a small southern affluent to the upper Marañon. As to guides who could take me to the Indians however he could give me no advice. He certainly gave me a letter of introduction to a hacienda owner some leagues further up the river, where a mestizo who knew about the Aguarunas was said to live, but my subsequent inquiries at this hacienda did not yield any results.

Two days later, however, I arrived at another big hacienda named La Estrella, the owner of which was Sr. Juan José Vásquez who, in his capacity of a *governador*, exercised authority in this remote part of the Marañon district. Sr. Vásquez showed me the same kindness and courtesy as the Commissary at the Pastaza and could give me all necessary information concerning the Aguarunas. From La Estrella to the mouth of the Apaga it was only two days' journey. There was no guide to be had, but on the middle course of the river, a commission of *balateros*--rubber seekers--sent by a company at Iquitos, were just working, and these would give me all the help I needed for the purpose of coming into contact with the savage Indians, who lived near the sources of the river. Sr. Vásquez gave me a letter of introduction to the chief of the commission at the Apaga and assured me that he would do everything in his power to facilitate my investigations among the Indians.

Having received this news we proceeded on our journey of discovery, the mouth of the Apaga being our nearest goal. We followed the left, northern bank of the Marañon but, as usual, the strong current sometimes compelled us to cross over to the opposite side which, considering the breadth of the river, meant considerable delay. On the following day we [77] passed the mouth of the Morona, which struck me as being comparatively narrow; there was hardly more than a hundred meters from one side of the mouth to the other; the Morona on the whole seems to be an insignificant river in comparison with the broad and rapid Pastaza. Shortly afterwards we arrived at a place which turned out to be a small hacienda or an Indian settlement, for one reason or another abandoned by its inhabitants. There were no houses, but the plantations were left and we did not omit to complete our store of manioc and plantain which was very scanty. We had no hope of getting food of this kind until we reached the balateros on the Apaga. Even our store of animal food--chiefly consisting of dried wild boar's meat--was nearly used up. Game on the Marañon is not nearly so rich as on the Pastaza; wild turkeys are rare and shy, and of quadrupeds scarcely any but the capivara or water-haas is seen on the banks of the river, an animal which is seldom eaten by white men. Consequently we had only to go on as quickly as possible until we again encountered human beings.

The Apaga runs into the Marañon from the south, so we had to cross over to the right side of the main river. Late in the afternoon of the following day we found it after considerable searching; it was nearly hidden by a big island. From the current we could conclude that we had really arrived at an affluent of the main river and not at one of the numerous channels formed between the islands of the Marañon. At its mouth this river--which does not figure at all in the ordinary maps of the river Amazon--looks quite insignificant, but soon it widens considerably and even in depth it is no doubt navigable to small river steamers for a great part of its course.

Our immediate task was to find the camp of the rubber seekers. For three days we descended the river without encountering traces of human beings, passing the nights, as usual, on the sandbanks in the river. The situation began to cause me some anxiety. Our store of food was now almost exhausted and the Indians were beginning to feel weary of a journey which seemed never to end and in their opinion had no reasonable object. There was no game on the Apaga so we could get little by hunting. Acevedo several times made excursions into the interior with my shot-gun, but each time returned only with a tinamide, a kind of partridge of about the same size as a hen. He had seen traces of pigs, deer, and tapir, but never encountered the animals themselves; evidently they moved about only at night. Nor did my Indians try fishing. The only fish we caught were some sting-rays which were found in abundance on the [78] shallow and muddy banks of the river. One day they harpooned three or four of them and we boiled and ate them in the absence of better food. The meat of the ray is soft and not particularly tasteful, but I found it quite eatable. When however I wished to try the same sort of food on the following day my Indians refused to eat it. 'The ray is an evil spirit (supai)', they said 'We might fall ill and die if we eat much of it.' The sting-ray is in fact feared and hated by the Indians on account of its dreadful venomous sting, which may even cause death. The experienced Indian, when obliged to wade ashore from his canoe in the muddy water, always feels his way by means of a stick with which he incessantly pokes the bottom.

At last in the evening of the third day we perceived, at a turning of the river, the camp of the rubber seekers, a number of temporary huts which really formed a small village. I presented my letter of introduction to the leader of the expedition, Sr. Rojas Torres. In counting on his help I was certainly not misled. Sr. Torres not only provided me with the food I needed but above all gave me positive information about the Aguarunas. This rubber expedition had no dealings with the savage Indians since only white labourers were used; but they knew that the Aguarunas lived about one day's journey and a half from the place where we then were, in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Apaga. In its upper course this river divides into two branches, of which the one is called Yurac Apaga (White A.), the other Yana Apaga (Black A.), and the

Aguarunas were supposed to live at the former little affluent. Sr. Torres offered to send two peons with us to the Indians, but since they did not know the Aguaruna language and we would now no doubt find the Indians ourselves, I declined this offer.

Pleased to be at last near my long journey's end, I continued my descent of the Apaga on the following day. One day's journey took us to the place where the river branches off into what is called Yurac Apaga and Yana Apaga. By mistake we followed the latter branch instead of the former, but it appeared later on that both rivers are inhabited by the Aguarunas. The river narrowed off more and more, its bottom had become stony like the shores and it was clear that it could not remain navigable much longer. In front of us rose high, forest-clad cordilleras; they were the last spurs of the Peruvian Andes. On a journey by canoe lasting for one month I had thus crossed the enormous valley of the Amazon and was approaching the mountains on the other side of the giant river. The Aguarunas in fact both in Ecuador and in Peru inhabit [79] the slopes of the Andes and generally avoid the swampy, malaria-stricken plains down in the Amazon valley. But they avoid the main rivers also, even such as the Apaga, preferring to make their settlements in those remote parts of the country that are not easily visited by other Indians and by the whites. Consequently I encountered no Indian huts on the Apaga and it was only by a happy chance that I found them. On the bank of the river my Indian companions suddenly caught sight of a canoe which according to them undoubtedly belonged to the 'Aucas', as the savage Indians are called by the half-civilized Napo and Canelos Indians. These therefore were in the neighbourhood, and since it was important that we surprised them before they detected us and found time to run away, Acevedo went out to reconnoitre. He did not go far before he came to a temporary Indian hut in the forest. There was no one at home, but since it was evidently occupied by Indians he sat down to wait. After a while a middle-aged Indian and his wife appeared and a while afterwards a younger Indian. At sight of the stranger they at first intended to take to flight, but when Acevedo spoke to them in the Jibaro language they returned and answered him. All four then came down to the river where I was waiting for them with the other Indians."

1: Karsten--79-80　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro
171, 361, 161　　(1928-29)

"They [JKM: four Aguaruna Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath."

"They [JKM: four Aguaruna Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath.

We marched off early the following morning and in a few hours arrived at the first house inhabited by a brother of Himbikite's. Knowing that fear of 'disease' which is particularly characteristic of the Jibaros, I was surprised at the unprejudiced attitude which the Aguarunas assumed towards me and my Indian companions. It may have been because they realized at once that we came from afar and not from any disease-stricken village inhabited by the whites. On the whole I was lucky during this expedition. If I had not encountered these Indians on the river by chance, it would have been very difficult for us to find the way to the region inhabited by the Indians alone. The friendly attitude of the Aguarunas was due to particular reasons. During the last years they had waged war against the Huambizas living between the Morona and the Santiago. They were closely related to these Indians, it is true, but this fact did not by any means prevent the two tribes from being mortal enemies. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of the Jibaros that precisely the different sub-tribes wage sanguinary wars against one another. Exactly at the time when we visited them the Aguarunas were fearing an attack of the Huambizas. This fear may have been exaggerated. But the consequence of it was that at any rate for the time they wished to live in peace with the whites, who might even help them in the event of a hostile attack of their own tribesmen. As to the Canelos Indians whom I had with me, they had no fear of them. But there is no saying what would have happened if I had visited them in the company of real Jibaro Indians from Ecuador!

By presenting a shirt to Himbikite's brother I at once gained his confidence, and Himbikite himself was able to give a satisfactory explanation of the object of our visit. I had explained that I wished to barter with the Indians and to acquire clay vessels, ornaments, and similar things. I soon found that the material culture of the Aguarunas was essentially the same as that of the Ecuadorian Jibaros, but I still obtained certain new things of interest. On the whole a great uniformity characterizes the Jibaro culture in spite of the enormous areas which it covers and the numerous sub-tribes into which the people is divided. The same seems to be true of their customs and religious beliefs, as far as I have been able to study them.

I made visits to several houses in the neighbourhood. Of the greatest interest was my stay in the house of an old man called Tuhuimbi, who [81] seemed to be in a way the chief of this small Jibaro tribe. It was here that I was first informed of the danger of war which was believed to threaten the Aguarunas from their enemies the Huambizas. I was moreover able to see with my own eyes some of the defensive measures which the Jibaros take in time of war. The whole house, amongst other things, was surrounded by a wall of strong chonta poles of nearly a man's height. The wall was so thick, the Indians explained to me, that a bullet could scarcely penetrate it, and if the enemy tried to shoot over it the bullets would only hit the roof. In other respects also Tuhuimbi was well prepared to receive an enemy. I found four firearms in the house, of which two were Winchester rifles. In a war between comparatively primitive tribes such a store of arms was no doubt of great importance.

In recent years firearms have been more and more used in the wars of the Indians instead of the old chonta lances, and the consequences of this change in the methods of warfare have naturally been revolutionizing. New kinds of defensive measures must now be taken. The lance and the shield have almost passed out of use. When I first visited the Jibaros--in 1916--it was an easy thing to get genuine Indian lances of chonta wood as well as shields; shields especially are now wellnigh unobtainable, and decent lances extremely rare. Instead of these ancient weapons the Jibaros quite commonly make use of a primitive kind of shot-gun, muzzle-loaders, but Winchester rifles have also unfortunately been introduced by the rubber merchants. The trade in this kind of firearms has to a great extent been a consequence of the barter for the shrunken heads, prepared by the Jibaros and eagerly sought by certain whites, especially by North Americans. For each tsantsa the Jibaro Indian demands a rifle. In possession of this weapon he is able to carry on war with his enemies successfully, and to acquire new heads for further barter with those white travellers who are unscrupulous enough to pursue this dirty trade.

The trade in shrunken Jibaro heads is prohibited by law both in Ecuador and in Peru. It is a well-known fact, however, that it has been secretly carried on to this very day, being one factor which in its way has conduced to the diminution and degeneration of the Jibaro race. From an ethnographical point of view it may be useful to add in this connection that a great many of the tsantsas which have arrived in the United States and Europe, and even found their place in 'scientific' ethnographic museums, are not Jibaro heads at all but heads of negroes and mestizos or poor whites, who have died in hospitals and been bought [82] by white 'merchants'. Years ago I was told of a man living in Guayaquil who had made the preparation of 'shrunken Jibaro heads' a real business.

The wall of chonta wood which I have mentioned above was a defensive measure from olden times and therefore of course of particular interest. How the Jibaros fortify their houses in time of war will be related by me with more detail in that part of my work which deals with Indian warfare.

The name Aguaruna under which these Jibaros are known is a Quichua word. The word runa means 'Indian' and agua seems to be the name of a certain palm. To the half-civilized Quichua Indians on the Marañon the Aguarunas were no doubt, when they first appeared in this region, a sort of 'people of the wood'. There is no doubt that earlier

1: Karsten--79-83 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116 (1928-29)

they lived north of the Marañon and formed a part of the great tribe of the Huambizas, a fact of which they seem to be conscious themselves. The dialect which they speak is the same as that of the Huambizas of the Morona and the Indians whom I now visited had some two decades ago lived on the Morona--if permanently or only temporarily, I could not find out. Having begun to quarrel with the rest of their tribe they had retired to the regions of the upper Marañon. They strongly insisted on being called Aguarunas and not Huambizas, who have a bad reputation among both Indians and whites on account of their raids. The Aguarunas themselves, however, are scarcely any better. Acevedo and I in conversation with the Indians came to the conclusion that the Aguarunas on the Apaga formed a part of those Huambizas who in 1915 killed the Peruvian garrison on the Morona, an incident previously related by me. This came to light indirectly from what our hosts themselves told us. Besides the Aguarunas of the Apaga, there are communities of the same tribe further up the Marañon, from the village of Pomara on the eastern slopes of the Andes all down the river on both banks to the Pongo de Manseriche, the famous gorge situated just below the mouth of the Santiago. The total number of the Aguarunas is difficult to establish; K. G. Grubb states that estimates of their number vary from 2,000 to 7,000. The former number probably comes nearer the truth than the latter, at any rate now. Like other savage Indians the Aguarunas have in recent years greatly declined in numbers owing to disease. Mr. Grubb mentions that about

1925 fifty per cent of those around the Pongo de Manseriche were said to have died in an influenza epidemic. (1)[83]

My visit to the Aguarunas could not last longer than a few days. I was obliged to hurry on for the sake of the Indians who had consented to serve as my crew on this trip and who wished to return as soon as possible. Besides this, my store of articles for exchange was greatly reduced. There was no possibility of buying anything in these lonely tracts, and without possessing such articles it is useless to visit the savage Indians. I had proposed to make a short visit to the Indians of the Yurac Apaga also, but my native companions from Canelos, led by Acevedo, refused to proceed further, alleging that they had not been engaged for further trips, that their comrades were waiting for them, that we would run short of food, and so forth. As usual they threatened to go off secretly at night and to leave me alone. Again I considered it wisest to yield to the demand of the Indians and to return at once. When on the following day in the evening I reached the camp of the rubber seekers and told Sr. Torres about the behaviour of my Indians, he offered to give me some of his peons for a new trip to the Aguarunas of the Yurac Apaga, and it would thus have been possible for me to pursue my plan in this regard if I had wished to do so. But where should I leave my own Indians meanwhile? It was very probable that they would go off, as they had indeed threatened to do, and my return journey to Iquitos would be extremely difficult. I

---

"1. Grubb, Amazon and Andes, pp. 135-140."

1: Karsten--79-83 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116 (1928-29)

consequently decided to be satisfied with the results I had achieved and definitely to set out on the last and very long journey to Iquitos.

I need not describe this journey in detail here. Going down the river we were able to travel very quickly, sometimes using the moonlight nights also, as the Indians are wont to do on their own river journeys. Soon we reached the Marañon and two days later arrived at the sandbank where I had left the sick Indians. They were now slightly better, having taken the quinine I had left for their use, but had not wholly recovered. A patient that has contracted malaria on the Marañon cannot be restored within a few weeks by any quinine treatment. In any case, my crew had again to be changed. The two sick Indians had to go with me to Iquitos, whereas the rest were to remain at a place at the mouth of the Pastaza, waiting for the return of my men. Thereafter all proposed to ascend the Pastaza in a body.

This scheme was followed in the main, but Acevedo and his men accompanied me only to the mouth of the Huallaga, where I took one of the steamers which make regular trips between Iquitos and Yurimaguas, a town on the Huallaga."

1: Karsten--35
116, 301

*Jivaro*

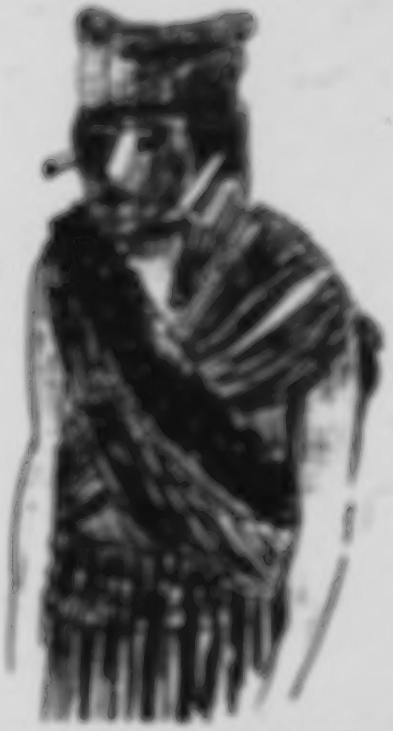


Fig. 3.

A *Jivaro* Indian from the Santiago, wearing a bag of monkey's skin (uyúsa) and with the breast and shoulders covered by the kind of ornament called mupish.

1; Karsten--87 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 141 (1928-29)

"The warlike customs and the harsh life of the JIBAROS has influenced them physically as well as mentally. For a people of the tropical virgin forests they are rather strongly built and muscular. The independent and arrogant character of the Jibaro Indian also shows itself in his bearing, gestures, and his manner of speech, and makes him seem taller than he really is. Regarded from a European point of view he is rather below medium height, but hardly shorter than other Indians of Western Amazonas. The height however varies considerably. The tallest Jibaro Indian I met measured 174 cm., the shortest--the great chief Nayapi at Puyu--only 146 cm. Five other men measured by me showed a height of 154, 158, 160, 163 and 165 cm. The women are of course shorter. Their height seems to vary roughly between 142 and 152 cm."

1: Karsten--87 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142 (1928-29)

"The colour of the skin is light brown, perhaps lighter than is the rule among the Indians of the Amazon territory. The hair is black, coarse, and generally straight, the eyes dark brown, the nose regular and straight, seldom aquiline, in some individuals somewhat broad and flat, the mouth and the lips normal, and the chin slight. The form of the skull places the Jibaro Indian among the brachycephalic races. The face is round or slightly oval and the features as a rule regular and pleasant. Protruding cheek-bones occur in some individuals, but is not a common feature, and there is no prognathism. On the whole the average Jibaro Indian is a fine-looking fellow, making an agreeable impression."

1: Karsten--87-88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142, 152 (1928-29)

"His proportionately built and well-developed body bears witness to the mobile life he leads and the continual physical culture to which he subjects himself from very childhood, just as his vivid look radiates that intelligence and energy which is one of his chief mental characteristics. At the same time his whole personality and his vehement speech, and gestures give expression to those strong emotions and passions [88] which have made the Jibaro Indians famous and which they have especially shown in relation to their enemies."

1: Karsten--88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142 (1928-29)

"The average height of the CANELOS INDIANS is about the same as that of the Jibaros proper. Since they are a mixed race they show anthropologically a greater variety of types than the latter. Whereas some show an approximation to the robust type characteristic of the mountain Indians, others, in regard to the build of their body and the features of their face, stand nearer the forest Indians. The Canelos Indians are wont to make journeys to the Sierra and are accustomed to the harsher climate prevailing in the mountain regions, but in their whole mode of life they are, like the Jibaros proper, a typical people of the tropical virgin forests."

1: Karsten--88 [2]    (1916-18) 1935    Jivaro
116, 302    (1928-29)

"In their outward appearance the JIBARO men attract special attention by their long hair. It is tended with great care and not seldom reaches down to the waist, being generally--that is to say, when the Indian is not, for one reason or another, compelled to observe ceremonial abstinence--divided into three pig-tails, one big one hanging down from the back, called itsímgama, and two smaller ones at each temple called akáhiki. Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

l: Karsten--88-89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
*116*, 291 (1928-29)

"Living on the eastern slopes of the Andes where the climate is not, as a rule, particularly hot, the Jibaros dress themselves better than many tribes further down the Amazon valley. The principal article of clothing of the men is a loin-cloth ( *itipi* ), reaching down a little below the knees and kept together round the waist by means of a cincture of human hair or of snake's skin (*akáchu*). This piece of clothing is woven by the men themselves from cotton cultivated by the Jibaros, and it is dyed in certain colours, as we shall see later on. The upper part of the body, that is, the shoulders and the chest, is frequently kept bare, especially when the weather is hot, but is at other times covered with a small square piece of cloth of the same manufacture as the loin-cloth and dyed brown with roucou. In the middle of it is a hole through which the head is passed, so that the cloth covers both the chest and the back. This article of clothing which is called *awangéama*, corresponds to the *poncho* of the mountain Indians. The women keep the hair shorter and their dress is more complete, in that their principal article of clothing, the *taráchi*, covers not only the waist and the thighs, but also the breasts and the right shoulder, the left shoulder and both arms being left bare. It is held [89] together at the waist by a girdle of cotton wool called *ikichi*. The *taráchi* is woven of the same stuff as the *itipi*, being composed of two *itipi* sewn together. Both articles of clothing are woven exclusively by the men."

I: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Clothes of cotton stuff seem however to be of comparatively modern origin. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are aware that formerly shirts and loin-cloths of bark were customary among them, and more strictly speaking, clothes of the bark obtained from the big tree which the Jibaros call kamaka and the Indians of Canelos llanchama. This tree is, I believe, identical with the silk-cotton tree (Bombax ceiva). Large pieces of the bark were carefully stripped off the huge stem, soaked in water, and beaten with clubs so as to make the hard bark softer and more appropriate as clothing. When this prepared bark stuff had dried, certain black and red ornaments were painted on it with genipa or roucou. Some fifty years ago such bark clothes were commonly used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians know and prepare the bark stuff even to-day, but only use it to lie on and as a cover at night. The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kamaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles. -- The Canelos Indians, like other half-civilized Indians of Eastern Ecuador, nowadays only wear trousers and shirts made of linen which they have obtained from the whites."

1: Karsten--89
116, 301

Jivaro

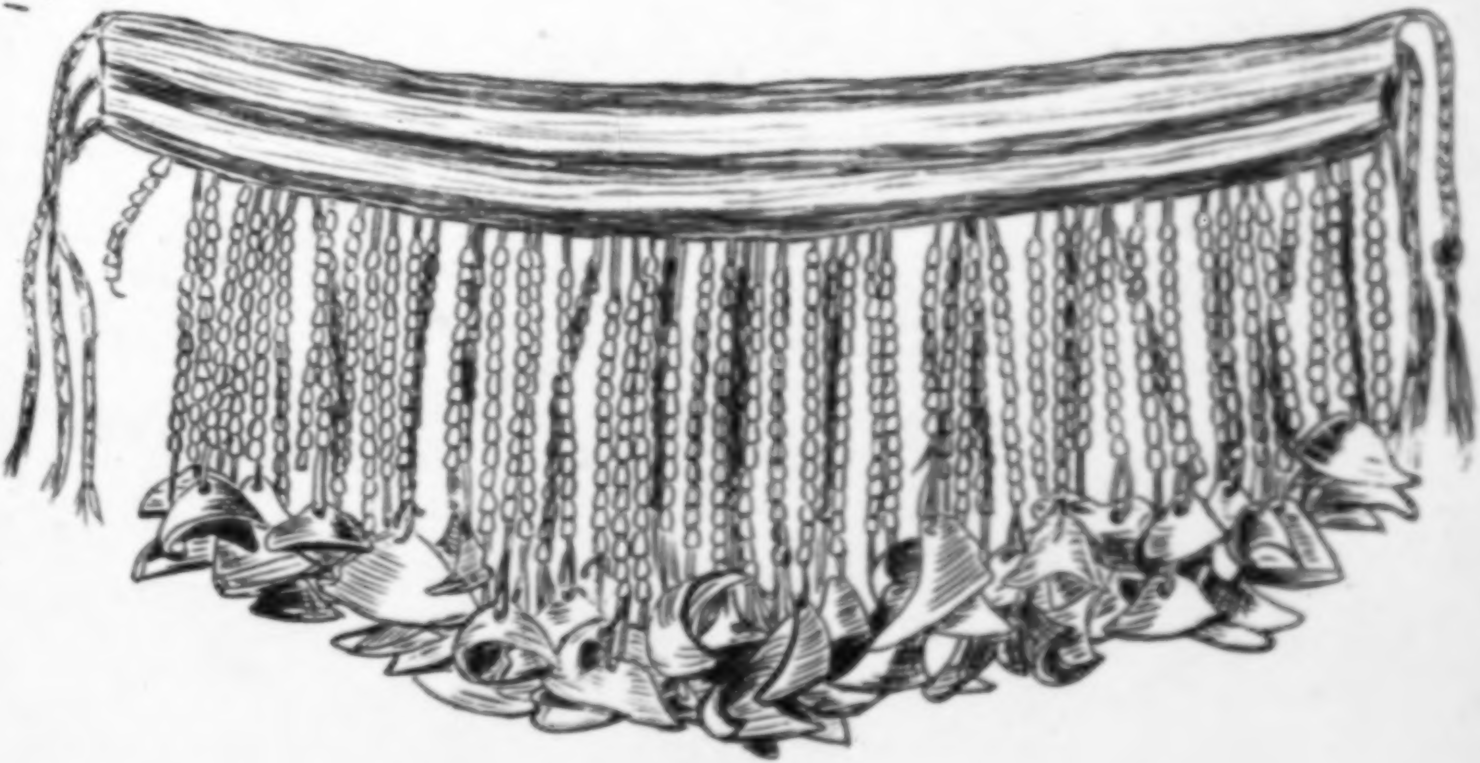


Fig. 3. The rattle cincture of the women, kúngu.

1: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301 (1928-29)

"....both men and women among the Jibaros wear a multitude of ornaments to which they ascribe equally great importance. These ornaments are not merely decorations in the strict sense of the word; they so to speak form a part of the Indian's whole personality, and most of them have a purely magical significance. I shall therefore return to these ornaments in the chapters dealing with the religion of the Indians."

1: Karsten--89-90 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 292 (1928-29)

"Whereas the Jibaros wear no head-gear in the proper sense of the word, they are in the habit of covering the crown of the head with certain head-ornaments, made partly of the plumes or feathers of certain birds of the forest, partly of monkey skin. Brilliant plumes are loved by all Indians of the Amazon territory, but there are a few tribes that have developed such art in making head-ornaments of this kind as the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians./ Plumes or feathers of the tucan, of different kinds of parrot, especially the big macaw, of the wild turkey (Crax pauxi), and of certain small birds of the forest are preferred for this [90] purpose, but the art and taste with which the different colours are combined and the whole ornament made can scarcely be described in detail. This head-ornament is called tawaša by the Jibaros and tawasaímba by the Indians of Canelos (Pl. XIV). The best and largest of these ornaments, which are especially used at feasts, are greatly valued by the Indians themselves, and this we can easily understand, considering that for the making of one single ornament of this kind the Indian has to shoot several dozens of the very shy tucan or macaw with blowgun and poisoned arrows.--Old warriors and medicine-men generally prefer a head-ornament made of the skin of the black or red monkey.

Slightly different from the tawaša is the head-ornament called tendrárma; it consists of a number of plumes or feathers in showy colours attached to a cotton band. This decorative band is wound round a crown plaited of a liana called kápi, the same liana from which the Jibaros make their most common baskets. The plaited crown itself, apart from the feather-band, is called tindímba.

Of other ornaments of the head, the cylindrical bamboo sticks which the men wear as ear-ornaments are particularly conspicuous. They are often of considerable length, 15 to 25 cm., and about 1 cm. in diameter, passing horizontally through the lobe of the ear and protruding in front. The ends of the sticks are ornamented with certain incised figures of the kind customary in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and frequently, besides this, red and yellow tucan feathers are stuck into them. These ear-tubes are called arusa: they are not merely decorations but have a magical significance. The women wear ear-sticks of the same kind, only much smaller. In addition to these, the women have a smaller stick inserted in the lower lip, which is perforated for the purpose. This stick is called tukunu; it is 6 to 10 cm. in length and about 1/2 cm. in diameter and, like the arusa of the men, this female ornament has the protruding end decorated with incised figures. --Whereas the women wear no tawasa for the head, they have, on festival occasions, the crown of the head decorated with a simple circular cotton band, without feathers, which are hardly ever worn by the female sex. This cotton band is called tiríngsa."

1: Karsten--90 Jivaro
116, 301
—

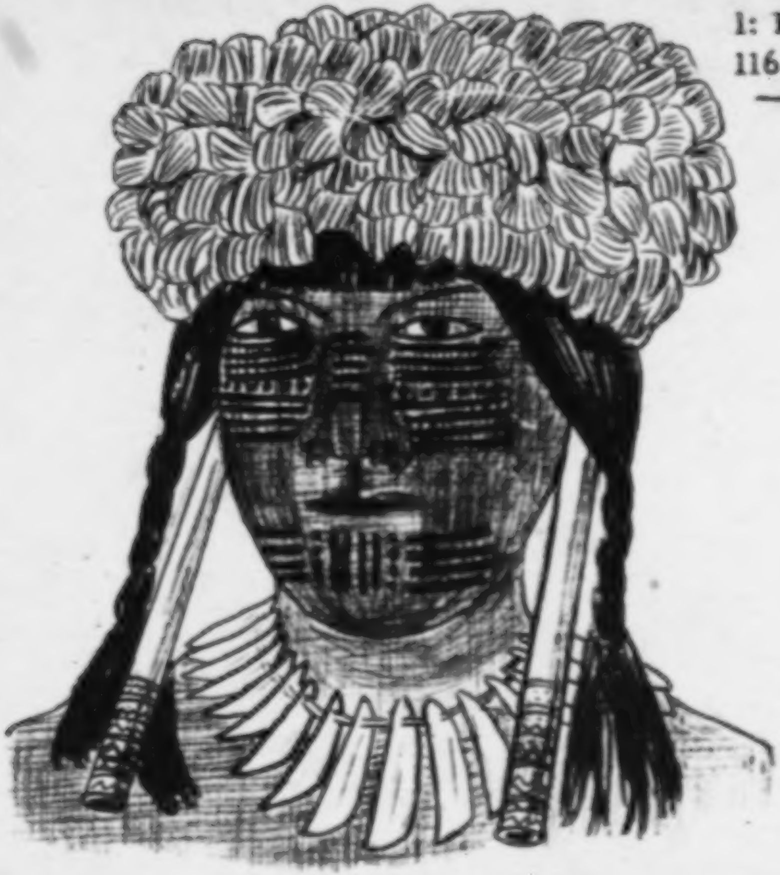


Fig. 1.
The picture of a Jivaro Indian, showing the great head ornament of tucan feathers (tawása), the necklace of jaguar's teeth (nai), and the facial painting.

1: Karsten--90-92 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 301 (1928-29)

"In addition to the ear-tubes, both men and women on festival occasions wear a kind of ear-pendant consisting of brilliant beetle wings, small red and yellow tucan feathers, and human hair. These pendants are called waúo, after the beetle, and are attached to the perforated ear-lobes by means of small wooden pins. [91]

A great variety of necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and other ornaments for the neck, the breast and the back, the arms and the legs, are used both by men and women, especially by the former. The female ornaments are always simpler and less conspicuous, due chiefly to the fact that feathers and plumes are not used by women. The necklaces are so varied that it is impossible to describe them all; they can be studied more closely in the ethnographic museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, where my collections from the Jibaros are kept. Generally speaking there are two chief categories of necklace: they consist either of animals' teeth or claws, or of different seeds, or of fruit shells. Collars or necklaces made of animals' teeth have a common name naí, i.e. 'tooth'. There are two kinds of animal the teeth of which are strung into necklaces and worn as ornaments: monkeys and the jaguar. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are usually very large, hundreds of teeth of different monkeys being used for the purpose. Collars consisting of jaguars' teeth are especially worn by old warriors and they are believed to impart to the wearer something of the strength and ferocity of this wild beast. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are also generally

1: Karsten--90-92 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 301 (1928-29)

worn only by men, since it is considered proper that a man should decorate himself only with the teeth of such animals as he has killed himself. For the same reason ornaments consisting of plumes of birds are limited to the men. It is not unusual that whole stuffed birds are worn as ornaments at the feasts, the most common of these being the great tucan, regarded with superstition both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The large-beaked tucans, dried and prepared much in the same way as a human tsantsa and the head of the sloth, and worn at the waist at the great dances and festivals of the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of trophy to which was originally ascribed a similar magical power as the Jibaros still ascribe to the tsantsa. (See Pl. XIV, 1. 2. and. Pl. XV, 1).

Necklaces prepared of seeds or dry fruit shells are very varied and they are worn by both sexes. Some of them have the character of rattles and are therefore used at dances and religious ceremonies. A common kind of necklace consists of a great number of grey seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacrima, of the family Gramineae) strung together, and another equally common is made of a kind of forest bean, red with black spots (Ormosia, belonging to the family Leguminosae). These necklaces are called ētsi. At feasts the men frequently have the back, shoulders, and breast covered with a large ornament consisting of the pepper-like seeds of a tree, strung together in many rows and very [92] fragrant. These ornaments are called payaśhnya,

1: Karsten--90-92 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 301 (1928-29)

and owing to their fragrance and other properties are regarded as a magical protection for the body against disease and witchcraft. A decoction of the same seeds is taken by the Indians as a remedy against fever. Other and smaller bundles composed of the same peppercorns, of vanilla sheaths, certain dry fruit shells, and other things, are not regarded as ornaments or decorations at all, but are simply amulets the object of which is to protect the wearer against disease. These 'medical' ornaments are called mamúta; they are worn only by women who fix them at their breasts.

An ornament of much the same kind, and likewise worn at the great feasts, is called mupísh by the Jibaro Indans. It is a sort of necklace composed of a great number of small round black 'buttons' with a hole drilled in the middle and strung closely together. The 'buttons' are made from the twigs of a certain tree of the same name as the necklace, which are cut into small pieces, each about one millimetre thick. Besides this, one or more big snail shells are generally attached to the ornament. Since the twigs have to be cut very evenly and carefully and one single ornament may contain many hundreds of 'buttons', it is much work for the Indian to make a mupísh."

1: Karsten--92
116, 301

Jivaro

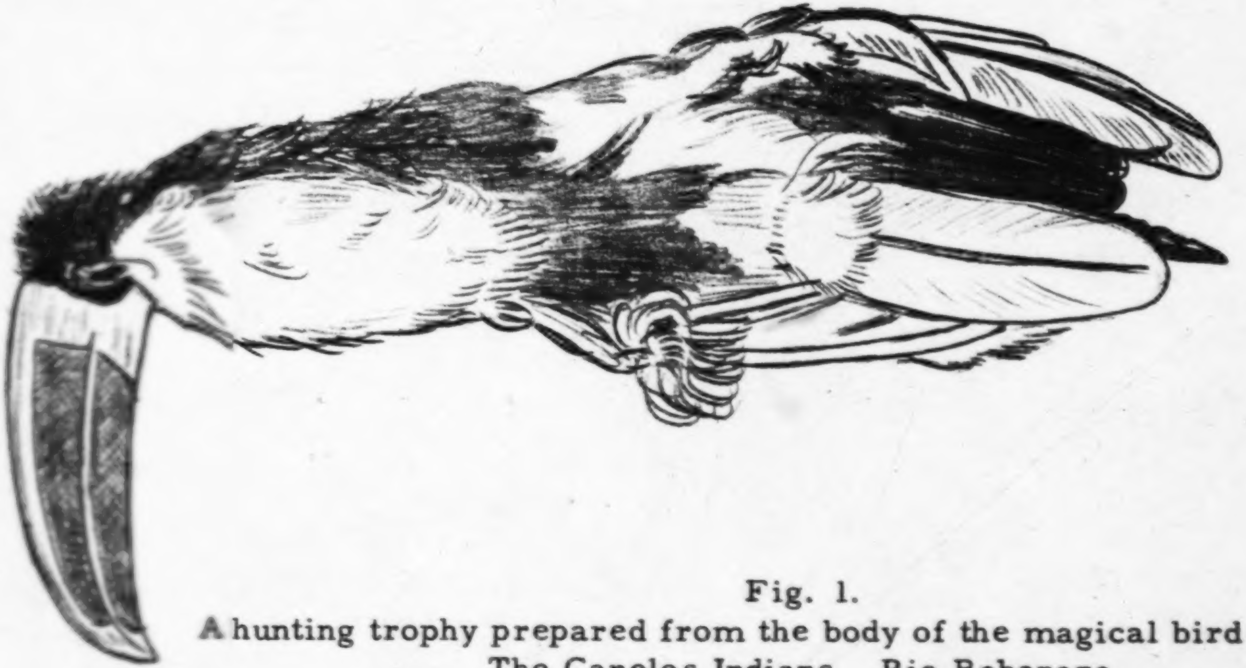


Fig. 1.
A hunting trophy prepared from the body of the magical bird tsucánga.
The Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza.

1: Karsten--92-93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 301 (1928-29)

"The most costly ornament of the Jibaros, likewise only worn at the great feasts, is called tayukuńchi. It is a broad back ornament composed solely of the leg-bones of the tayu or oil-bird (Steatornis), attached to the head by means of a broad band over the forehead and hanging down to the loins. The lower border of it is adorned with brilliant beetle wings, human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed showy coloured birds of the forest. The beetle wings produce a dull sound when the Indians hop up and down during their dances, so the ornament serves as a sort of rattle. Since the oil-bird, as we have seen, is rare and hundreds of birds are needed for the making of one single tayukuńchi, we can understand that the Indians value this ornament very highly, apart from the magical power which they ascribe to it (Pl. XIII, 1).

Another ornament for the head and the back consists of several long pigtails of brilliant beetle wings, sewn together, and with human hair at the ends. These pigtails are attached to a circular cotton band which at the great feasts is fitted to the crown of the head. The Jibaros call this ornament by the same name as the beetle used for the purpose: wauo (Pl. XIII).

In many of their necklaces and other ornaments the Indians insert small white, red, and blue beads obtained from the whites. They are [93] quite common even among the savage Jibaros, who especially use them for the kind of collar called sháuka. These collars attract special attention by the very tasteful way in which beads of different

1: Karsten--92-93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 301 (1928-29)

colours are combined so as to form certain triangular ornaments typical of the Jibaros (Pl. XXI, 2).

Armlets and bracelets consisting of simple cotton bands tied tightly round the arms and the wrists and called pataka are frequently seen on the Jibaro women. They are hardly looked upon as ornaments, but are worn simply because they are supposed to make the arms stronger for carrying burdens. The men again wear round the wrists bracelets made of the skin of the great iguana lizard and called suńday. These ornaments too are believed to give much strength to the arms.

The personal adornment of the Indians also includes the painting of the body and the face to which extremely great importance is attached. Since however facial paintings have almost exclusively a magical significance I shall deal with them in the part of my work which is devoted to religion and art."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 293 (1928-29)

"Certain personal belongings of the Indians may be said to form part of their dress, since they are always carried by the men and regarded as indispensable. No Jibaro Indian leaves his home without his little square bag made of the fibres of the chambira palm, and called wambachi, and his larger bag made of the skin of the black monkey or the red howling monkey, a sort of bag called uyuña. In his wambachi the Jibaro Indian carries his comb, tobacco, and certain medicines, magical stones and other objects used for witchcraft, which are indispensable to medicine-men. In his uyuña again he carries larger objects, certain ornaments, gourds containing hunting charms or red paint, etc., but formerly the most important were the two sticks used for producing fire. These sticks were called uyuña, and from them the whole bag is called by this name. A large net bag is called shigra (Pl. XIV, 1, 2, 4)."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 *Jivaro*
116, 301, 177 (1928-29)

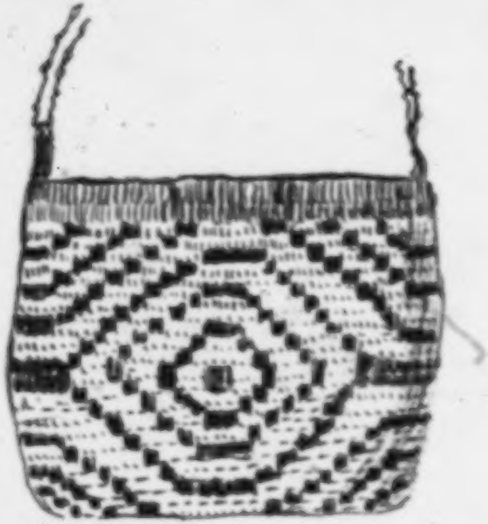
"As to the personal ornaments of the CANELOS INDIANS I may add that they are in some respects less characteristic, owing to the fact that they have in part adopted European dress. Thus they nowadays use neither ear and lip-tubes nor ear-pendants. Their necklaces are chiefly made of dry fruit shells and snail's shells as well as of monkey's teeth. But the Canelos Indians are particularly famous for their feather ornaments (tawasamba), which are more varied than those of the *Jibaros* and are among the most magnificent found in any South American tribe."

1: Karsten--94 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 361 (1928-29)

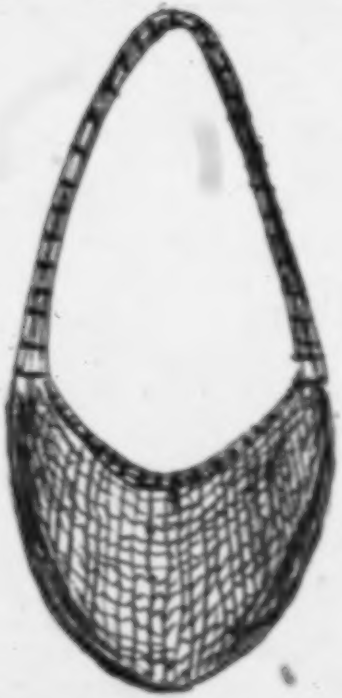
"In describing my journeys among the Jibaro Indians I had occasion to mention repeatedly that the savage Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, but prefer to make their houses beside small affluents in the interior of the country. The reason for this is obvious: it is due to their constant fear of hostile attacks. By hiding themselves in the forests in the way they do, they not only avoid the whites, who now and then travel along the main rivers, but they are also better protected against hostile Indian tribes. The Jibaro houses are also largely constructed with a view to keeping off uninvited guests; in fact, nearly every house is a sort of fortress, as will be shown in greater detail in the part dealing with the warfare of the Indians."

1: Karsten--94
116, 415

Jivaro



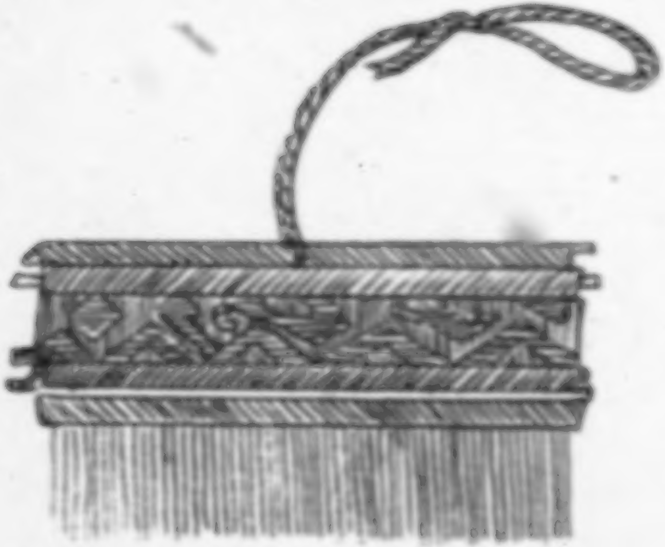
1. The small bag of chambira fibres (wambáchi). 1/3.



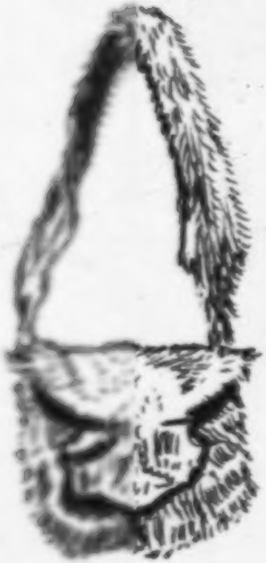
2. The big bag of chambira (shigra).

1: Karsten--94
116, 415

Jivaro



3. The comb (timashi).



4. The bag made of monkey's skin (uyúna).

1: Karsten--94-96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 342 (1928-29)

"In their general construction the houses of the Jibaro Indians are of the same type as the great communal houses, known from the Amazon territory and from Brazil, called maloca. The house is elliptical in shape and has a length of 15 to 20 meters and a breadth of 8 to 10 meters. The roof is supported by two or three big posts of strong chonta wood in the longitudinal direction, and at each side there are other shorter poles. The roof consists of several layers of dried palm leaves, carefully plaited into a thatch called kambańaka. Similarly the walls are constructed with great care and consist of a row of strong chonta poles placed vertically and tied to horizontal bars by means of lianas. Since there are no openings serving as windows in the walls, narrow intermediate spaces of about two centimetres are left between the poles, through which the daylight filters. These cracks in the walls also allow the inhabitants of the house to look out and watch persons approaching; but on the other hand they may make it possible for enemy spies to watch the inmates of the house and even to attack them with natural or supernatural weapons. In time of war therefore the houses of the Jibaros [95] are specially fortified by means of extra walls and in other ways, as we shall see later on (Pl. X, 3. and 4).

The roof (kambańaka), consists of plaited palm leaves, and in the tropical climate is liable to be attacked by insects and gradually destroyed, so it has to be renewed after the lapse of some years. In building a new house therefore the Jibaros observe the

1: Karsten--94-96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 342 (1928-29)

following custom. On the fire kindled in the new house no manioc or palm cabbage can be cooked until it has been purified by burning cedar wood (Cedrela herrerae), the smoke of which will penetrate the thatch and kill the insects existing in it. In this way the thatch, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is not only purified for the time being, but permanently. If manioc or palm cabbage is cooked in the new house before the said procedure, certain maggots, which easily develop in the manioc plant and in palm tops, will infest the thatch and soon destroy it. Until the house has been purified in the way indicated these kinds of vegetable food must be cooked in a special, small shelter outside the new house.

The house has always two doors, one at each end of the house, the one being used by the men, the other by the women. A Jibaro house, it should be noticed, consists of two departments, of which one is intended for the women and children and called ekinturu, the other for the men and for guests and called tangámasha. The quarter intended for the women is at once recognized by certain special arrangements. All round the walls in a Jibaro house there are low banks of split bamboo, called peaka, which serve as seats during the day and as sleeping places at night. These bunks or sleeping racks in the men's department are without edges or sides, but in the women's department each of them is fenced round with split bamboo, or in some cases only banana leaves, thus forming partitions closed in on three sides, somewhat resembling

1: Karsten--94-96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 342 (1928-29)

horse-boxes. For each of the wives in the house there is such a box; here the small children are kept as well as the dogs, the latter always tied up since, extremely savage and angry as they are, they would otherwise not hesitate to attack visitors. -- No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indans, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also. Whereas the married men sleep in the ekinturu, the full-grown sons and other unmarried men always spend their night in the tangamasha, where each has his sleeping rack and [96] where occasional visitors may also take possession of a peaka for the night. The women are generally in the ekinturu, cooking food at one of the fires on the floor or doing other domestic tasks, and as a rule they set foot in the men's department only to offer manioc-beer to their husbands or to guests, or to bring them food."

1: Karsten--96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 356 (1928-29)

"The floor in a Jibaro house is the earth itself. No mats are used, but the natural floor is carefully kept clean by daily sweeping. This is all the more necessary as in a Jibaro house there are not only human, but also certain animal inmates. Thus the hens, although they are as a rule kept outside, make occasional visits in the house, and besides among the members of the family is generally found a tame paugi (Crax paugi) a trumpeter bird, or a parrot, who freely move about. In spite of this, to a stranger visiting a Jibaro house for the first time, it conveys on the whole the impression of cleanliness and sense of order, which are in fact among the characteristic qualities of the Jibaro Indians."

1: Karsten--96 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 352, 513 (1928-29)

"The benches, which at the same time serve the Jibaro Indians as sleeping places at night, are extremely simple and uncomfortable. The length is about one metre and a half, but twenty to thirty centimetres away from the rack is a cross-pole (potaši) on which the sleeping Indian leans his ankles. The bench has a slight downward slant, the upper edge of it being about thirty or forty, the lower end about twenty or twenty-five centimetres above the ground. The sleeping Indian may have a thin deer's skin under him, but frequently even this is lacking, nor has he any cover. Since however the nights are often chilly, a fire is kept burning all night under the cross-pole supporting the legs, so that the sleeper may keep his extremities warm (Pl. XXIV, 3). --Hammocks are not used by any Jibaro tribes.

There are very few other things in a Jibaro house which may pass as 'furniture'. Almost the only things which deserve this name are smaller benches of split bamboo (kutanga) and low round stools (chimbui) used by the men."

1: Karsten--96-97 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415 (1928-29)

"There are.....various utensils and other things which attract attention. The majority of the utensils are, of course, found in the women's department where the food and drink is prepared. Most of them are pottery; almost the only exception being the large bottle-gourds (yúmi) in which water is kept. Thus there may be found shelves full of large and small clay pots, some used for the cooking of food and called ichingańa, while in others the manioc substance is kept from which the Jibaro women prepare the native drink of the Indians, the manioc-beer or nihamańchi. The pots in which the manioc-beer is kept [97] are the largest of all and called muitsa. An earthen pot of this kind is usually found in the centre of the ekínturu standing on the floor, propped up with sticks. Its opening is generally covered with a gourd or earthen dish, so that the hostess of the house is always ready to prepare the beer by mixing a certain quantity of manioc substance with water when a guest arrives.--The cooking pots are generally found on one of the fires burning outside the sleeping boxes. The other clay pots and dishes will be described with more detail later on in connection with the industrial art of the Indians."

"In the men's department (tangamasha) there are several objects to be mentioned. On one of the chief posts of the house there usually hangs the big signal drum (tunduí) suspended by two lianas. This giant drum has been described as the 'telegraph' of the Jibaro Indians, but this does not exhaust its significance, as we shall presently see. Generally there is also found another and smaller drum hanging to one of the posts. This drum is of European type and originally obtained from the Canelos Indians. Its European origin may be inferred from its very name: tambora (from Spanish tambor). On one of the lateral posts several objects are to be seen: a number of chonta lances (naíki) and blowguns (uíni, in Quichua pucuna), a couple of quivers made of wild bamboo (chipyata) in which a great number of fine darts made of palm wood are placed, and frequently one or more round shields (tandara). On another post, close to the fire-place where the owner of the house usually sits when preparing his tobacco water in the morning, there are certain objects illustrating the industrial art of the Indians: a bag made of monkey skin and a smaller bag of chambira fibres, a bundle of wild cotton wrapped up in banana leaves tied to the post, and, hanging from its lower open end, a spindle consisting of a thin, straight pin of chonta wood, at the lower end of which is fixed a small round wheel of chonta or a stone disc with a hole drilled in the middle. Round the spindle is generally wound some cotton thread already spun. When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he

1: Karsten--97-98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 415, 353 (1928-29)

is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names.

I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex.

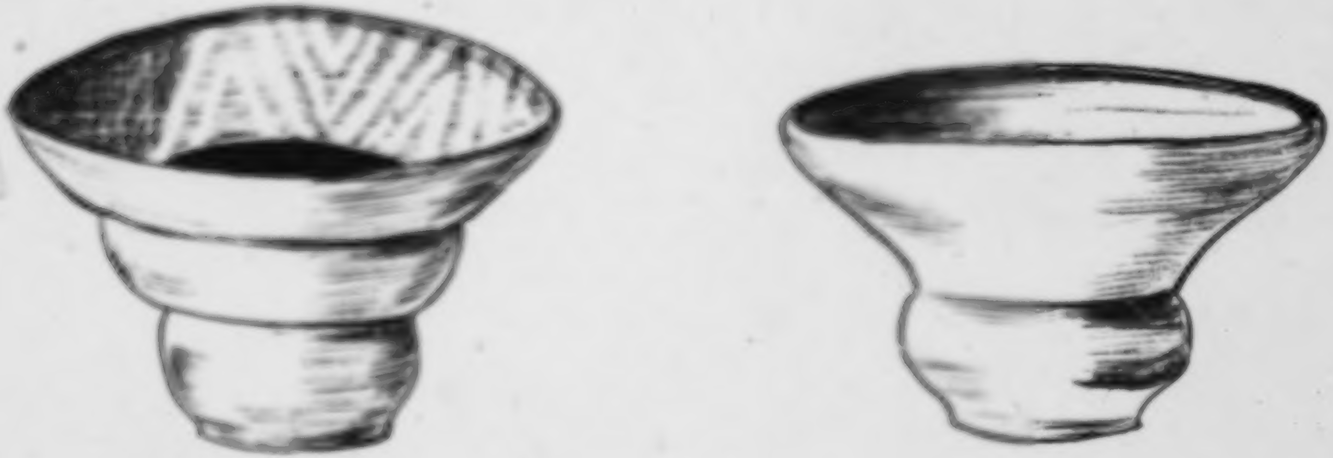
The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects-- in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

1: Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342 (1928-29)

"Such is, in its main features, the interior of a Jibaro house. It is intended to lodge a considerable number of people, not only the family-father himself with his wives and their children, but also the married daughters with their husbands and children and some older relatives, especially in the male line. At the great feasts a Jibaro house may shelter anything up to a hundred persons."

1: Karsten--98
116, 415

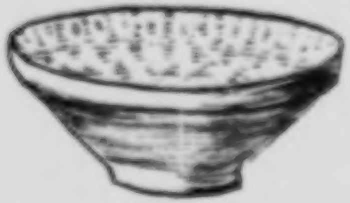
Jivaro

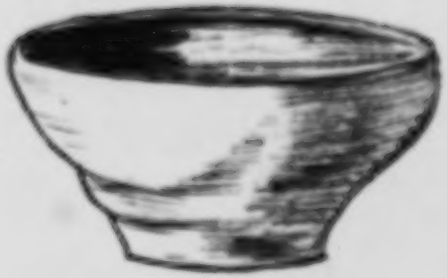


1. and 2. Clay pots for cooking tobacco leaves (yukúnda), of two different types. 1/3.

1: Karsten--98
116, 415

Jivaro





3. A small clay dish used at the feasts by such persons as are obliged to fast. The Jivaros. Rio Upano. 1/3.

4. Small clay pot for drinking manioc-wine. Jivaros.

1: Karsten--98 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342, 352 (1928-29)

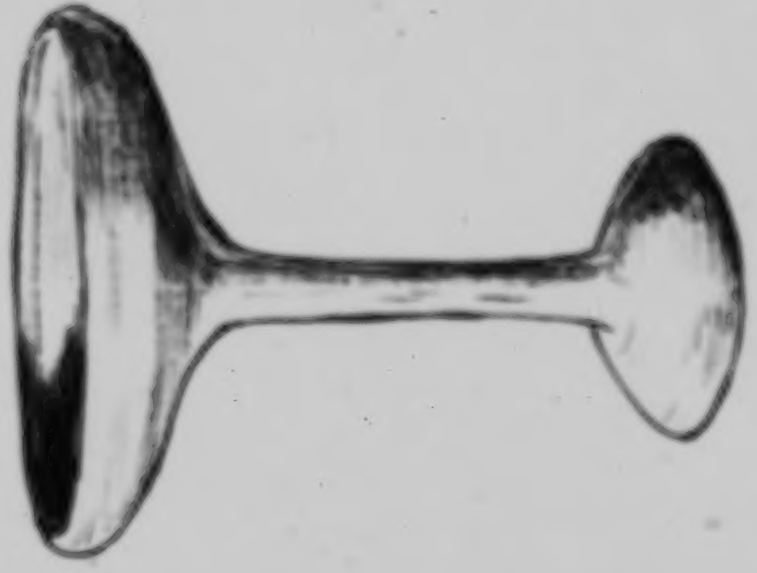
"As to the houses of the CANELOS INDIANS (huasi), they differ from those of the Jibaros proper chiefly in that they are much smaller and that walls are usually lacking. These Indians have not the same interest in fortifying their houses as the Jibaros. In the interior of the house the sleeping benches are almost the only kind of furniture seen, but what at once attracts the attention in the houses of the Canelos Indians is the great number of all sorts of clay vessels which are arranged on shelves under the roof, many of them beautifully ornamented."

1: Karsten--99 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462, 774 (1928-29)

"In the industrial art of the Indians, just as in their agriculture, appears the strict division of labour which is characteristic of their social life and which has its ultimate foundation in their animistic views. According to this division of labour, pottery-making is the most important of the industrial tasks incumbent on the women, whereas for instance spinning and weaving, basket-making and different kinds of wood-work are occupations which, according to the idea of the Indians, are only suitable for men."

1: Karsten--99
116, 415
—

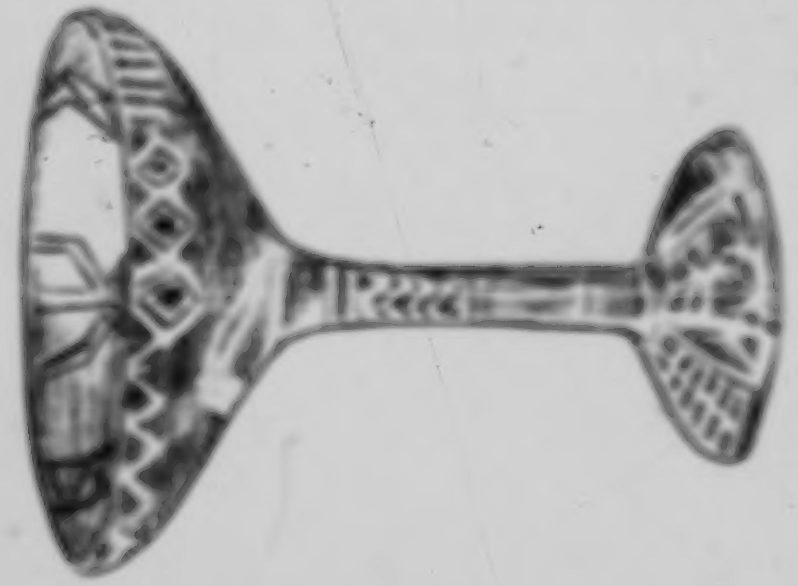
Jivaro



1. Eating dish provided with a foot. 1/3. Achuares. Rio Pastaza.

1: Karsten--99
116, 415, 531

Jivaro



2. Ornamented eating dish (piningo) provided with a foot. Achuara. Rio Pastaza.

1: Karsten--99-102 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 323 (1928-29)

"The ceramic art among the Jibaros, and especially among the Canelos Indians, is brought to a remarkable degree of perfection. The superiority of the Canelos Indians shows itself above all in their way of painting the clay vessels, or more properly speaking, in the ornamental designs with which they decorate them. It may be added at once that on this particular point the pottery to a certain extent varies with different Jibaro tribes. Whereas the tribes of the Upano and the Morona, and similarly the Aguarunas, seldom apply ornamental designs to their clay pots and dishes, the Achuares of the Pastaza ornament theirs in a peculiar way, as we shall presently see, and even in shape their pottery is partly original, probably owing to the relative isolation in which the Achuares have lived.

For the making of their pottery the JIBAROS and Canelos Indians use a special kind of clay which is found only at certain places on the [100] river. At least some tribes, e.g. the Achuares, try to make it more durable and more suitable for its purpose by mixing with it the ashes of burnd bark obtained from certain trees, but in general the clay vessels of these Indians are very fragile. However, certain magical or animistic ideas seem to be associated with the very material used for the making of them. When I asked the Jibaros why only women make pottery, I received the answer, 'The clay is

1: Karsten--99-102 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 323 (1928-29)

obtained from the earth and the earth is a woman; hence the women have to make clay vessels." It is interesting to note on this point that 'clay' in the Jibaro language is *nui* and 'earth' *nunga*, from which word also the name of the Earth-mother *Nungüi* is derived. 'Woman' again, is *nua*. There can be little doubt that all these words are derived from the same root, a fact that the Jibaro women themselves seem to be aware of. When further we consider that, as we shall presently see, the ornamental designs painted on some clay vessels, have obviously a magical significance, we realise that a whole primitive 'philosophy' is connected with the making of these important utensils.

The technique for making clay vessels is the same as among other primitive South American tribes. No potter's wheel is used. A base of clay is prepared and the vessel is formed by the addition of thin rolls --obtained by the clay being rolled between the hands -- to that base, the intermediate spaces being filled with smaller rolls of clay and smoothed out with the fingers. When complete, the vessel is dried in the sun, whereupon it is painted and lastly fired for a while by placing it on the ground and piling the fuel round it. In this way the Jibaros make for instance the great urns or jars with bulging sides, narrow neck, and wide mouth, in which they keep the manioc substance from which the manioc-beer is prepared. Next to these in importance are the shallow dishes, called *pininga*, from which the Indians drink the beer and which are used as plates. Normally such a dish contains about one litre, but for the feasts special smaller dishes are made to be used by those persons who have to fast. The women make with special care those quite small clay pots in which the tobacco juice necessary for the great feasts is kept, and which is only handled by the 'priest' or 'priestess', or by the medicine-men. These pots are called nattipya.

The cooking utensils are mainly of two kinds: the ordinary black cooking pots (ichingana) already mentioned, and the smaller pots called yukunda in which the Jibaro men prepare tobacco water by boiling the leaves. Since the taking of tobacco juice is always ceremonial, these [[101] pots are also made with special care, at any rate for the feasts, and they are of somewhat different forms, some being short, others tall, as appears from the photographs (Pl. XVIII, 1. and 2).

The Jibaros paint the outside of their muitsa [JKM: large pots in which is kept the manioc-beer] and pininga [JKM: shallow dishes from which beer is drunk] red with roucou (Bixa orellana), inside again they coat them with a special, beautiful, reddish-yellow varnish which they call yukaípi. This varnish is prepared in the following way. From the top of a certain forest tree they obtain, by parting it into small fibres and squeezing out the juice, a clear, glutinous white matter which is boiled in a small clay pot together with the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and some water. Thus the liquid becomes red or reddish-yellow in colour and makes the varnish called yukaípi. When congealed, it forms a fine glazing upon the surface of the clay dish. In this way the Jibaros not only embellish clay vessels, but also certain wooden objects, especially the shafts of a special kind of lance with points of a jaguar's or bear's leg-bones.

Again, the small black cooking-pots called yukuñda are painted inside with a black polish or varnish called sekata. It is a black wax produced by certain wild bees which make their nests in holes in the earth. When warmed up at the fire this wax melts and forms a lustrous varnish. It is the same kind of black polish which the Jibaros apply to their blowguns, to be described later on.

On the other hand, the Jibaros very seldom embellish their clay vessels with ornamental designs or patterns. The only exception I have noticed to this rule, for instance among the Upano and the Santiago tribes, are certain very vague triangular ornaments applied in dark brown colour inside the yukuñda after they have been painted black with sekata. It is otherwise with the Achuares on the Pastaza, whose ceramics differ in many respects from those I have found among other Jibaro tribes. Thus the small round clay dishes or cups standing on a foot which are seen on Pl. XVIII, 5. and 6., are not to be met with among any other Jibaro tribe and are, I believe, unique in South America. The Achuares told me that they were formerly used by them as food-plates; now they were no longer used, but had still been preserved as the Indians keep many old things which have gone out of fashion. Upon these plates the Jibaro women

1: Karsten--99-102
116, 323

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-5

placed different kinds of food when serving their men: on one some boiled manioc was placed, on another some fish, on a third some boiled Indian pepper, etc. As appears from the picture, the eating-cups were painted both inside and outside. Upon a brown bottom, produced by painting the vessel with roucou, [102] certain patterns were applied in white. The use of a white clay-- a clay which, as far as I know, only exists in the country of these Indians -- is a peculiarity in the ornamental art of the Achuares; at any rate I have not seen it anywhere else in Eastern Ecuador or Peru.

In the same way the Indians paint the shallow dishes represented on Pl. XIX, 1. and 2. As is seen, however, these are only ornamented inside, the designs being painted with white clay. The patterns are those customary among the Jibaros, although the technique for painting them is partly different. The designs appearing in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and Canelos Indians are in fact always the same: they either represent human spirits, certain dangerous snakes, certain birds, especially the macaw, or certain insects, as for instance butterflies, millepedes, and scorpions. As to the snakes, such species are mostly represented which for one reason or another particularly inspire the Indians with fear. The snake that plays the most important part in the ornamental art of the Indians--being represented especially on clay vessels and in facial paintings, etc.--is the great water boa or anaconda (Eunectus murinus). Thus the broad snake-like figures appearing in the shallow dish in Plate XIX, 2, represent

1: Karsten--99-102 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 323 (1928-29)

the anaconda (pangi), whereas the designs on the other dish (Pl. XIX, 1), and the snake-like figure encircling the outer border of the painted clay cup in Pl. XVIII, 6, represent the very venomous snake ekis (Lachesis, called yamunga in the Jibaro language). On the foot of the same cup among other things a human spirit and a millepede are represented."

1: Karsten--100 (1916-18) (1928-29) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415, 531

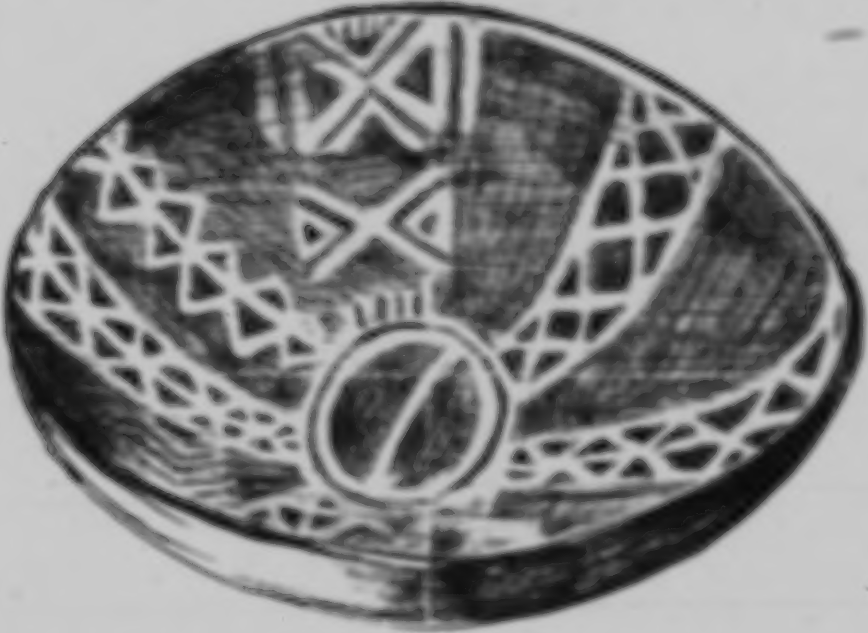


Fig. 1. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

1: Karsten--100 (1916-18) (1928-29) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415, 531

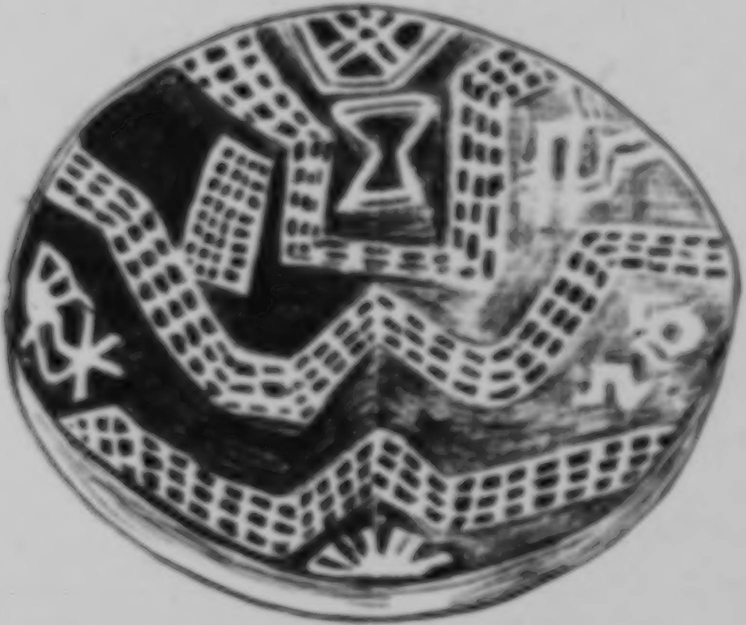


Fig. 2. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

1 Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

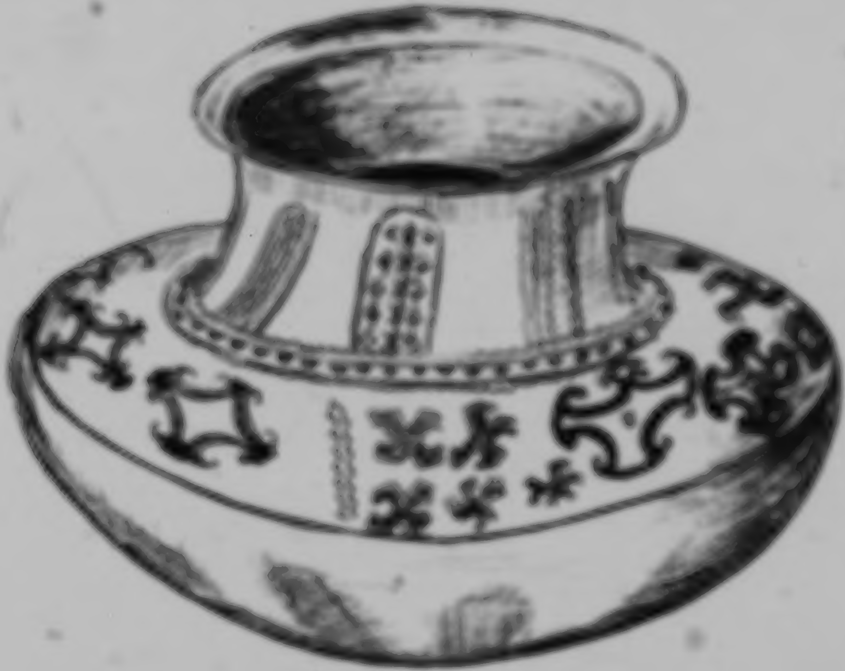


Fig. 1. Big ornamental clay pot for the keeping of the fermented manioc substance. Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza. (about 1/10).

1: Karsten--1935
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

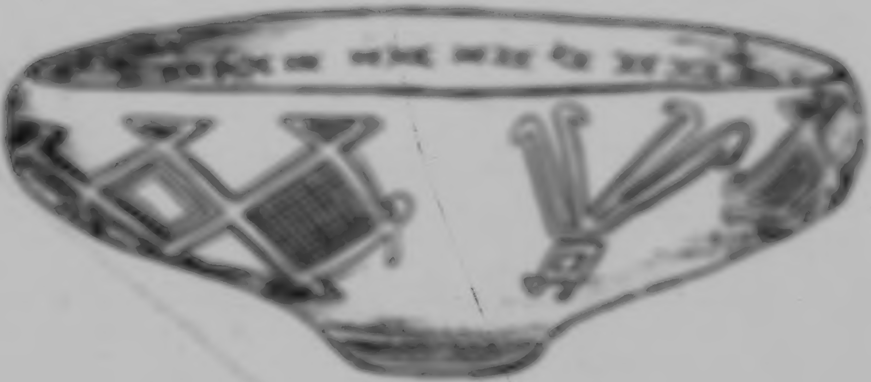


Fig. 2. An ornamental clay pot. Canelos Indians. (about 1/2).

1: Karsten--102-103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 323, 531 (1928-29)

"Like the Achuares, the CANELOS INDIANS nearly always apply ornamental designs to their clay vessels, but their ornamental art is easily distinguished from that of the Achuares and even the clay they use is different. The big jars in which they keep the masticated manioc substance (asua) are generally without ornaments and only have the outside paintrd red with roucou (Bixa orellana). There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as appears from the beautiful, ornamented jar represented on Pl. XX, 1. Among the ornamental designs figures of snakes predominate, the great anaconda (amarun) being the reptile most often represented. Even human spirits with the arms stretched out, birds, tortoises, and certain poisonous insects are represented much in the same way as among the Achuares. Generally the Indians are themselves able to tell which particular reptile, bird, etc. a certain figure represents. Thus the women at once informed me that the brown rings [103] which encircle the big jar on Pl. XX, 1. represent the spots of the great boa, amarun, a monster which has struck the imagination of the primitive Indians more than any other member of the animal world. The smaller dishes from which the manioc-beer is drunk are nearly always ornamented with figures in black or brown colour. White designs are unknown, and the white clay used for the purpose by the Achuares does not exist at all at Canelos. Generally the outside is ornamented; more rarely the dishes have ornamental patterns inside and when they have, they are always simpler. In the smaller dishes also the snake patterns predominate, poisonous snakes like the Lachesis (called pitalaía by the Canelos Indians) being most often represented. These dishes are called mucahua by the Indians. (See Pl. XIX, 3. 4. 5).

Of particular interest is the small but elaborately ornamented clay dish represented in Pl. XX, 3. and 4. Diminutive cups or dishes of this kind are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians only at the great feasts, a special sacred drink being drunk by means of these small cups. How the manioc-wine is prepared and how it is consumed at the end of the most important feasts will appear from descriptions given later. I only add in this connection that the magical ideas which are associated with the Indian clay vessels in general, appear among other things from the extraordinary care with which the small clay cups used for the drinking of manioc-wine are made and ornamented. The same may be said of the small clay pot in which the Jibaros keep the tobacco juice which is ceremonially given to the principal persons at the great feasts. The vessels used on these occasions must be specially made and painted for each feast, and they must be made by the old woman, the 'priestess', who administers the sacred drinks at the feasts. Not only these, but also the most important of other clay vessels used at the religious feasts have to be specially made.

To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know,

1: Karsten--102-103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 323, 531 (1928-29)

only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

1; Karsten--104-105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro /-
116, 386 (1928-29)

"Another work which, according to the idea of the Jibaros, can only be done by the women is dyeing. When the cotton is spun, it has to be dyed in different colours before the men can start weaving, since patterns of different colours are woven into the stuff. It is a remarkable fact that although spinning and weaving are strictly male occupations, it is the women who have to dye the yarn. If we consider that for dyeing the Jibaro women use partly clay, partly certain leaves of the forest, and that women are mysteriously associated both with the clay and with certain plants, we may perhaps understand the peculiar division of labour observed by the Indians on this point.

The Jibaro women dye the yarn by soaking it in a solution obtained by boiling the leaves of certain plants in a clay pot with water, the bark of certain trees or other ingredients being generally added. The vegetable ingredient most often used for producing red colour is the seeds of Bixa orellana (called ipyaku in the Jibaro language), and this is also used for painting clay vessels. For dyeing, the seeds are boiled in water with some of the bark obtained from a big tree called kuai. When soaked in this solution the yarn will get a deep, red colour of great durability. The Achuares obtain the same colour by boiling the red Bixa seeds with the bark of a tree which they call payas.

A yarn of brown colour is produced by soaking the natural cotton yarn in a solution

1: Karsten--104-105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 386 (1928-29)

obtained by boiling in water the leaves of a cultivated vine called tai.

A solution obtained by boiling the leaves of a plant called yamakai gives the yarn a beautiful dark brown colour.

Again, a dark grey or black colour is produced in several ways. The yarn may be soaked in a genipa solution alone. The juice obtained from the fruit of the genipa tree (Genipa americana, called sua by the Jibaros) is especially used by the Indians for facial and body-painting, but besides this it is often used as a dye-stuff and produces a black or grey colour in the yarn. Generally, however, the genipa is not used alone; it is mixed either with a special kind of clay or mud ( nui, tsakuśa) or with a solution obtained by boiling in water the black bark of a tree called chiańgrapi. Frequently all three, that is, the genipa (sua), the clay (nui), and the chiańgrapi solution are mixed so as to make the dark colour more durable. Besides the bark chiańgrapi, another bark obtained from a big tree called ukuḿcha is used for the purpose. [105]

The work of dyeing has to be done with great care lest the yarn be spoiled or fail to assume the colour intended. The Jibaro women therefore have to fast strictly on the day when they are engaged in this work. Thus, it is believed, the dye will stick fast to the yarn and remain unchanged for any length of time."

1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 283, 462 (1928-29)

"Spinning and weaving have been mentioned as occupations incumbent solely on the men. The yarn is spun from a sort of cotton wool cultivated by the Jibaros and called urućhi, and since the cotton tree and consequently the cotton wool obtained from it is 'a man', it follows from this peculiar view that the men have both to spin and to weave. This was the explanation I received from the Indians when I asked them the reasons for the division of labour observed by them in this respect."

1: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

".... a few words may be said about the patterns woven in the stuff. The loin-cloths of the men (itipi) and the women's taraćhi in fact always show certain ornamental patterns which are rather stereotyped, being always in the main the same. They form different systems of colours which are distinguished from one another by their names.

The colour or colours which occupy a central place in a bigger system are underlined by me. These systems are the following:

The arrangement of colours which in the section of the loin-cloth represented in Plate XXI, 1. is found on the extreme left, in the middle, and on the extreme right, and is marked with the letter a, consists of the colours black + reddish brown + black-white-black-white + reddish brown + black and is by the Jibaros called puítsah.

The arrangement of colours which consists of white (or light red) + brown + black + brown + white (or light red) is called yambítsa hī ('the pigeon's eye'). (1) As appears from the picture, these arrangements are the most common in the loin-cloth, and they are here marked with the letter b.

---

"1. The eye of the pigeon is black, and is surrounded by feathers in brown and white colour."

1; Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

The arrangement of colours which is marked with the letter c and consists of alternate black and reddish brown stripes is called yauakina. [106] Some of the yauakina arrangements, as we find, are broader and consist of seven black or brown stripes. These are called unta yauakina ('the big yauakina'), whereas the narrower yauakina arrangements, consisting of five black or brown stripes, are called uchichi yauakina ('the little yauakina'). They are in the picture marked with c, 1 and c, 2 respectively.

The white, undyed yarn is by the Jibaros called puísuh. Sometimes it is slightly coloured with roucou so that it is rather light red or yellow than white, as in the picture.

These colour arrangements are found on all original itipi. Like the 'pigeon's eye', so the rest of the designs are no doubt taken directly from nature. Thus the design called puítsah evidently denotes a snake's skin, but I have not received positive information on this point. The Jibaro Indians themselves apparently ascribe great importance to them. When the family father is at leisure in the afternoon, and while he is sitting after the day's work is finished, waiting for the meal to be brought by the women, he may sometimes be seen singing at a low voice and in a special tune passing with his fingers along the different designs woven in his itipi and repeating their names.

1: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

especially the name of the 'pigeon's eye' (yambitsa hi), just as if the designs were to him a kind of verse. That the itipi designs have a magical or mysterious significance may be taken as certain, considering that most other ornamental designs of the Jibaros have such a significance; they are believed to keep off evil spirits, to give the body strength, and so forth. I shall have an opportunity to point out this again in the part dealing with religion."

1: Karsten--106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462 (1928-29)

"Among other industrial tasks incumbent on the men basket-making may be mentioned."

1: Karsten--106-107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
M6, 285 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros use baskets of two kinds, both being plaited of a vine which the Indian call kâpi. Baskets of the kind called changina are simpler. These baskets are used solely by the women when they carry home manioc, sweet potatoes, and certain other fruits from the fields. Although the men have to make them, it is not considered proper that they should use them, since such fruits as are regarded as 'women' cannot be carried home by the men. On the other hand, the vine kâpi itself is a 'man', and therefore the basket made of it can only be made by a man. The other basket, which is called tukupi, is made of the same material but with greater care. It is the kind of basket which is kept hanging from the ceiling and in which the men keep such articles of clothing, ornaments, etc. which are easily attached and destroyed [107] by insects. For this reason it is lined inside with banana leaves, so that there are no holes through which insects can penetrate, and it is provided with a cover of the same material as the basket itself."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 322, 412 (1928-29)

"Similarly, woodwork of every kind is a man's occupation. Various objects of Indian ergology reveal great technical skill, which is all the more admirable as the implements that the Indians have at their disposal are very primitive. Formerly, when the Indians did not yet know such iron instruments as the axe and the knife which are nowadays common among all tribes, their resources for making various wooden objects were of course still more limited. Their principal implements at that time were sharp snail's shells, axes or clubs of stone of the kind which are still found in some Indian huts or occasionally encountered in the earth in old Indian settlements, and a kind of knife of split bamboo, called shingyańa.

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 531 (1928-29)

"....I shall only include here a few words about a small object which is partly regarded as an ornament and partly serves a practical purpose, namely, the comb, timaśhi. The Jibaro comb is a real piece of art that cannot be described in detail. It is made of a special kind of cane growing on the river bank, called pata, which is carved into a number of tiny sticks. These are connected with one another by means of other parallel transverse sticks which are fastened to the prongs by means of cotton thread, the intermediate space between the latter being embroidered in various triangular and other patterns of the same kind as the Indians put on their face and clay vessels.

The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--107-108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover exhibit their industrial art in the way in which they make their weapons. Of weapons used for attack the lance (nańki) is the most important, or was so before the Indians learnt to know the firearms of the whites. These lances, like the principal weapon of defence, the shield (tandaŕa), will be mentioned again in connection with the [108] Indian wars and I shall therefore not deal with them more closely here. I only add that formerly the lances were thrown by means of a special propellant made of a kind of cane called waćhi. This object is now never used and hardly known to the majority of the present-day Jibaros. Nowadays they always throw their lances without the aid of any instrument with the right hand, showing thereby remarkable dexterity. Ordinary bows and arrows of the kind used by most other South American Indians, are entirely unknown both to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians.

The principal hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun (uḿi, in the Quichua language pucuńa) which is made with very great care. The making of blowguns has become a special industry which is developed among only a few Jibaro tribes, and in these is followed by only a few individuals. Thus I myself found that only the tribe at the Arapicos and the Achuares at the central Pastaza were makers of blowguns, with which a trade was carried on with other tribes."

1: Karsten--108
116, 411

Jivaro

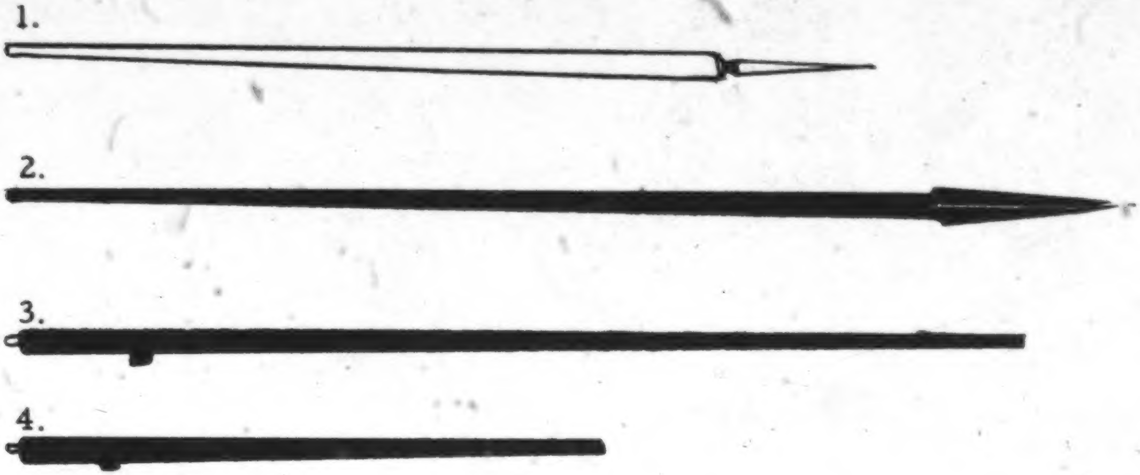


Fig. 1.

1. Lance with shaft of yukaipi and head of jaguar's bone.
2. An ordinary Chonta lance.
3. A blowgun.
4. Small blowgun used by boys.

1: Karsten--108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 784 (1928-29)

"A peculiarity of the Jibaros, which is of great psychological interest, is the idea that when a person makes an object which is considered of special importance he must fast or restrict his diet in some way lest the work turn out badly. For instance, when a Jibaro Indian makes a lance, he does not diet because this work does not need particular care and seldom fails, but it is otherwise when he has to make a shield or a blowgun. Since these objects may easily get spoiled through some carelessness or lack of skill, the Indians strictly observe certain rules in making them. The same holds true in regard to certain other wooden objects, for instance the great signal drum and the canoes, which have to be made with special care. The Indians are of opinion that their own physical condition at the time when the object is being made will in some mysterious way be reflected in and exert influence upon the quality of that object which will turn out good or bad accordingly. In dealing for example with the agriculture and the social customs of the Indians we shall find numerous instances which illustrate this peculiar, primitive view."

1: Karsten--108-110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 202, 534 (1928-29)

"The great signal drum (tunduí) of the Jibaros is among those objects which especially attract the attention of a visitor in a Indian house. It is made of a light kind of wood called shimúta and varies in length. The one brought home by me from the Aguarunas and now in the museum of Helsingfors measures 160 centimetres, including the handles, [109] and has a diameter of about 40 centimetres; the drum in the Gothenburg museum is a little smaller. The sound-holes are always of a serpent-like or curved form, and consist of four round holes connected with one another. The hollowing out of the trunk is tedious work and requires much skill and patience; it can only be done by means of fire, the burned [110] and carbonized parts of the wood being again and again scraped off with a snail's shell or an iron instrument until the cavity is sufficiently large. Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst. When the drum is ready, all the grown-up men of the family assemble and a feast is arranged for the inauguration of the drum. Each man steps forward and beats the drum for a while in the slow time customary at the drinking of the narcotics natéma and maikoa."

1: Karsten--110
116, 202

Jivaro

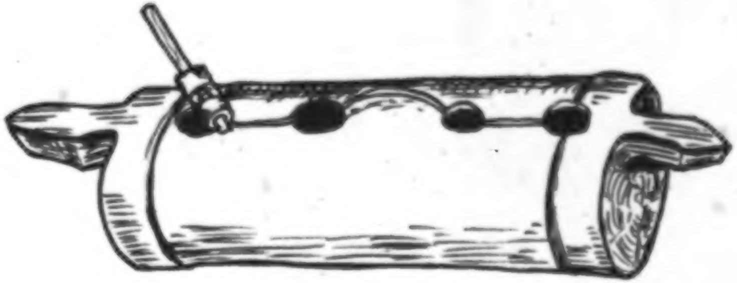


Fig. 2. The signalling drum.

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tunduí [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguańchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

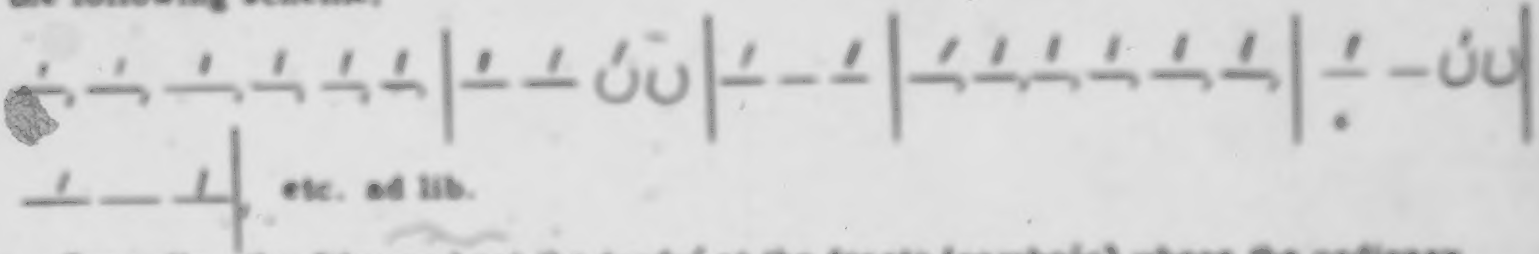
---

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p.123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

1: Karsten--III-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 262, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics natéma or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:

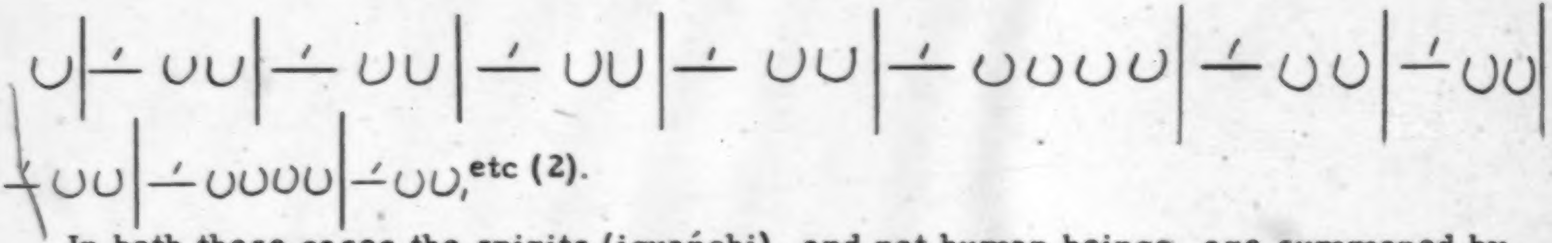


etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambera) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamánchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruru palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



etc (2).

In both these cases the spirits (iguañchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two

---

"2. —in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; $\overset{\prime}{-}$ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i. e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--112-113 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 501, 396 (1928-29)

"The making of canoes is another important task incumbent on the men which requires great patience and skill, and this was especially the case in former times when the Indians did not possess the iron tools of the whites. The canoes of the Jibaros are dugouts of the same type as is commonly used by the Indians in tropical South America, and they are skilled canoeists. For canoe-making only certain big trees with a straight stem can be used, and of these the cedar is the most sought after. The felling of the huge tree and the excavation of the stem was tedious work before the Indian had the iron axe and knife, and was chiefly carried out by means of stone axes and fire. The Indians still commonly use fire in digging out the stem after it is dry, but great care is necessary lest the edges should become too thin and the vessel burst. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians therefore consider it necessary that the men taking part in the work should restrict their diet and observe sexual abstinence. During the days that they are engaged in felling the tree they can take nothing but roasted green plantains and tobacco water. Manioc-beer, which in normal cases serves the Indians both as food and drink, they are forbidden to consume; otherwise, it is feared, the stem will burst. Afterwards, when the men are engaged in digging it out, they are not only forbidden to have intercourse with their wives, but no woman is allowed to come near the place where they are working; if they do come near, the canoe will burst and become useless.

Besides this, the Jibaros, at any rate the tribes of the Upano, practise the following

1: Karsten--112-113 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 501, 396 (1928-29)

custom when the canoe is ready for use. When the vessel has to be taken down to the river, the Indians first only do it 'in play', that is, they pretend to do it and go down to the river behaving the whole time as if they were dragging the canoe. When the vessel is really taken down, the women tie a rope to the stem and drag the canoe by it, calling in the same way as when they are calling their swine. This, [113] according to the Indians, is done 'in order that the canoe may not break'. At the same time the men walk on each side of the canoe striking incessantly on the ground with lances and sticks 'in order to prevent the anaconda(pańgi) from upsetting the canoe'. This rite of course has reference to the future use of the canoe. If a canoe is upset in the cataracts of the river, the Indians generally ascribe this accident to the powerful demon living in the river, the great water boa or anaconda."

1; Karsten--114 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 511, 262 (1928-29)

"Scarcity of food is an almost unknown thing to the Indians of Western Amazonas. As to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, the richness of the forests in all sorts of game, and the industry of the Indians, enable them to live easily and fairly well as far as food is concerned. On this point they are much better off than for instance the Chaco Indians, who in certain months of the year approach the very verge of starvation. The Indians of the Amazon territory appreciate vegetable and animal food equally. Their agriculture is well developed, although their methods of cultivating the soil are simple, and meat is secured to them by their domestic animals, the swine and the hens, as well as by the game they catch by hunting. Fish is also an important food. Their vegetable and animal food will shortly be treated separately, and I shall then give a more detailed account of their agriculture and their hunting and fishing practises."

1: Karsten--114-115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 372 (1928-29)

"Fire is made--or has been made up to recent times--by the Jibaros in the same primitive way as by other savage Indian tribes, by friction, two sticks of the tree called urućhi numi being rubbed against or drilled into each other. Urućhi numi means 'cotton tree'; this tree however is not identical with the cotton tree they now cultivate, and from which they obtain their yarn by spinning, and I have not been able to identify it. As previously stated, the two sticks used for drilling fire were called uyuńa and the bag in which they were formerly carried is still called by the same name. The Jibaros very seldom make fire afresh; generally embers are found in some of the numerous fire-places in a house and, as we have seen, the fires are as a rule kept burning the whole night. The fire-places are on the earth, one before each sleeping rack, and are formed by three or four big logs of the [115] chonta palm pointing to a common centre, and the ends of them serve as a basis for the cooking-pots. To light the fire in the morning, if it has gone out, the Indian has only to push the ends of the logs together, to place a few chips in the centre, and blow gently."

1: Karsten--115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 252, 462 (1928-29)

"The Indians prepare their food either by boiling it in a clay pot or roasting it at the fire. The latter method is resorted to when the Indians are in camp, hunting, fishing, or working, and it is the only way of preparing food which is considered proper for a man. Boiling the food at home is exclusively a woman's business, the only things cooked by the men at home being the tobacco water and the weisa solution (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), the natema, and certain other magical medicines which according to their ritual can only be prepared by a man."

1: Karsten--115[2]　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro
116, 262, 241　　(1928-29)

"A considerable number of edible plants are cultivated by the Jibaros, and vegetable food is as a matter of fact never lacking in a Jibaro house. The most important of these plants are the manioc and the plantain or banana, but in addition they raise crops of sweet potatoes and another kind of potato which is a vine and called kingi, maize, a kind of carrot, earth-nuts, beans, and some other edible plants of minor importance."

1: Karsten--115-116 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 252 (1928-29)

"The manioc is the most highly appreciated food, and it is difficult to see how the present-day Indian could do without this very nourishing root. They prepare the manioc either by boiling it in water or roasting it at the fire, the former method being by far the commonest. They also utilize the leaves of the manioc plant which are boiled in water, generally together with the leaves of another cultivated plant called sańgu. This kind of dish is known under the name naḿaka. Next to manioc in importance is the plantain of which there are many varieties, one being the sweet banana which is eaten raw. The kind of plantain which is most appreciated by the Indians is generally eaten green, being either boiled in water in the same way as the manioc, or roasted at the fire or in the ashes. Prepared in the latter way the plantain serves as bread and its taste somewhat reminds one of bread. Besides this 'green plantain', which is eaten in ordinary life, the Indians also eat 'ripe plantain' (tsaḿa, tsamaḱma) either raw, boiled in water, or roasted. 'Ripe plantain' is considered indispensable at the great feasts, and one of the preparations for such a feast is that some bundles of [116] plantain are taken into the house and hung up at the roof about two weeks previously in order that they may have time to ripen.

The earth-nut is frequently eaten raw, but the Indians prepare a dish of roasted and pounded earth-nuts called michaka which is much appreciated. --Sweet potatoes, beans, and other cultivated vegetables are prepared by cooking in the same way as the manioc.

I: Karsten--115-116 (1916-18) 1935 *Jivaro-2*
116, 252 (1928-29)

The only tree producing edible fruit cultivated by the *Jibaros* is the *chontaruru* palm (Guilielma), called ui by the *Jibaros*. Its extremely nourishing fruit ripens in February and March, and the *Jibaros* and the Canelos Indians appreciate it to such an extent that they reckon the beginning of the year from the ripening of the fruit of the chontaruru palm. This red apple-like fruit cannot be eaten raw and is always boiled in water, but although it certainly makes a most important and tasty food the Indians still more appreciate the fermented drink, the chontaruru-beer, which they prepare from it.

The virgin-forests of Western Amazonas produce very few edible fruits and the vegetable food they offer the natives, apart from the plants cultivated, is therefore insignificant. The most important is the palm cabbage which really plays a definite part in the economic life of the Indians. It is obtained either from the top of the young tarapoto palm, called tingimi by the *Jibaros*, or from the top of another palm called ihu. The palm cabbage is rich in oil, and when boiled in a little water yields a very tasty and nourishing soup; but it can also be eaten raw. During their wanderings in the forest the natives frequently have recourse to this vegetable food, so easily obtained, especially when other stores of food have been exhausted, and on certain occasions, when the Indian has to diet and to abstain from other kinds of food, he is allowed to eat ihu or tingimi."

1: Karsten--116-119
116, 262

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Pigs and fowls were early introduced among the Jibaros by the Spaniards, at any rate among the tribes of the Santiago and ~~the Upano~~, where they are still commonly kept as domestic animals. That these animals have long been known to the Jibaros, may be inferred from the important part that the ceremonial slaughter of the swine plays at the great feasts, in which old customs are conservatively kept up. All Jibaro tribes, however, do not seem to possess swine. At any rate the [117] Achuares, at the time when I visited them, had not these domestic animals, nor did I see any among the Aguarunas of Peru.

Although the flesh of swine and hens is an animal food much appreciated, there are still many occasions when the Indians, according to the strict rules prevailing as regards food, has to abstain from eating this kind of meat. The flesh of the swine is, on these occasions, particularly regarded as dangerous, a fact easily explained from the harmful effects that the eating of pork may have upon the stomach and the liver in a tropical climate.

In addition to the swine and the fowls the Jibaros, being clever hunters, highly appreciate different kinds of game. The most important of the animals whose flesh is eaten are the wild hog and the smaller peccary, different kinds of monkeys, the agouti (Dasyprocta aguti) the paca (Coelogenys paca), as well as a great variety of birds. The most important of the latter are the paugi (Crax paugi), different kinds of wild turkey

1: Karsten--116-119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 262 (1928-29)

(Penelope etc.), and a kind of partridge, the trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans), the tucan, and different kinds of parrot, among which the great macaw (Arara) is the most appreciated. As a general rule all small birds of the forest are eaten, being shot with blowguns and unpoisoned arrows.

On the other hand, it must be remarked that there are certain animals, even such as from a European point of view are nice eating, which are religiously shunned by the Jibaros, or can only be eaten by certain people. It is a curious fact for instance that the innocent deer, the flesh of which is commonly eaten by the whites, is never eaten by the Jibaros, who for superstitious reasons generally avoid even touching its flesh. About the same holds true of the tapir, although the fear of this animal is not equally great. If the Jibaros in the neighbourhood of Macas shoot a deer or a tapir, it is chiefly to barter with its flesh at Macas. The skin of the animals, however, may be used. The reasons why the Jibaros shun the deer and the tapir will be mentioned in the chapters treating of their religion.

As is the case with the swine and the fowls, there are many animals and birds of the wood which are in some cases eaten, in other cases again--that is, when the Indians for one reason or another have to observe ceremonial abstinence--are forbidden as food. Such animals and birds are for instance the boar, the paca, the agouti, and among birds the macaw, the tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the parrot, the pigeon, the

1: Karsten--116-119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 262 (1928-29)

umbrella-bird, etc. [118]

Quite peculiar in this respect is the position of the armadillo. It is eaten by ordinary people, but shunned by the medicine-men to such an extent that they even avoid looking at the animal.

Again, among fishes the most common and largest are valued, chiefly such as the sheat-fish, the dourado or golden fish, tha paco or bocachupa (its name in Spanish) as well as the smaller bocachico, the most common fish in the South American rivers. In addition to these there are a variety of small sardine-like fish caught with varvasco poison, which are also appreciated. In regard to these different kinds of fish similar rules prevail as in regard to animal food: in some cases, or to certain persons, they are forbidden as food, in other cases again a person may even be recommended to eat a special kind of fish, as we shall see later on.

Besides this, the following kinds of food, some of which are from a European point of view rather peculiar, may be mentioned.

Of small alligators the Indians eat the tail which, when boiled in water, has a taste somewhat reminiscent of fish. *Tortoises are greatly valued* as food and similarly their eggs are eaten. The iguana lizard is regarded as a delicacy.

Of frogs there are two kinds of which the one, which is spotted, is said to be poisonous and therefore not eaten. The other again, called poachi, is regarded as edible.

1: Karsten--116-119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 262 (1928-29)

The same may be said of a crab living in sweet water called uriki, and of the snails, both the one living in water, called tsuńtsu, and the one living in the forest, called kuńgu. The latter is also valued because of its shell which the Jibaro women use for their important rattle cincture, the kungu. The Jibaros moreover eat fish roes, frog's roes, a fat larva living in the top of certain palms called mukindi, and a flying ant called uḱu.

As a general rule it may be stated that the Indians shun all animal beings as food the flesh of which is directly harmful or of which they have superstitious ideas of some kind. For this reason for instance venomous reptiles and other kinds of snakes, beasts and birds of prey, vultures, and most nocturnal birds are regarded as unfit for food. I shall have an opportunity to return to this question later on.

I have in the first place spoken of the Jibaros proper, but I have to add that much the same rules as regards food prevail among the CANELOS INDIANS. It may be remarked however, that the latter Indians, nowadays more civilized than their savage tribesmen, have no hesitation in eating the deer and the tapir, which they eagerly hunt. But [119] they are aware themselves that formerly they had the same aversion to these 'demoniacal' animals as the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 619 (1928-29)

"The Indians in their natural state never use salt as a spice. The half-civilized Canelos Indians have learned to use it and are accustomed to make the long journey down to the Huallaga on the Amazon to fetch salt. To these Indians, however, who have much communication with the whites, the salt is at the same time an important article of trade, and the same may in part be said of the Jibaros proper, at any rate those living on the Upano and upper Morona.

These savage Indians, although they never put salt in their food for the sake of making it more palatable, still have developed the preparation of salt into a sort of industry. Salt to them has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic. Besides this, they [JKM: Jibaros] carry on a sort of trade with salt, their customers being the mestizos of Macas, who obtain all their salt from their savage neighbours."

1; Karsten--119 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258 (1928-29)

"The JIBAROS obtain their salt from certain saline springs the water of which is boiled and allowed to evaporate gradually. In the part of the Ecuadorian Oriente inhabited by the Jibaros there are two springs of this kind, one at the confluence of the river Mayaiku with the Zamora, an affluent of the Santiago, and another more towards the east, at the spot where the small river Curi-Curi unites its waters with the Mangosiza, which in its turn runs down into the Morona. Most of the salt arriving at Macas comes from the Curi-Curi. The saline spring existing here is small and generally it is wholly covered by dirty water, slime, and brush heaps brought there during inundations. The first thing to be done therefore, when salt is prepared, is to cleanse the spring. A large piece of bark is formed into a sort of tube and stuck into the spring in an erect position, whereupon the dirty water is drawn off. From the pure salt water rising in the tube the salt is prepared."

1: Karsten--119-120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258, 784 (1928-29)

"The obtaining of the salt is a real ceremony. Great care is considered necessary, since there is always the danger that the clay pots in which the salt water is boiled may burst. A number of clay pots are arranged in a long row, placed on fires made with chonta wood; another kind of wood would not do. Since the salt is produced by [120] allowing the water to evaporate gradually, it must be boiled at a slow fire, and as the water in the pots dries up they must again be filled. The pots, however, cannot be filled except by a man who is specially qualified for this work: it is an old experienced man who has prepared or obtained salt before and is considered to have a 'steady hand'. He must fast for the whole timethat the boiling goes on, for if he filled his stomach with food or manioc-beer the pots would burst and the salt be spoiled. The same would happen, according to belief of the Indians, if an inexperienced man filled the pots. Other men may carry the salt water from the tube placed in the spring, but the old man must pour it into the pots. The boiling begins at five o'clock in the morning and is continued without interruption the whole day and the following night until dawn. Then all the pots should to be full of salt and the boiling is finished."

1; Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

1: Karsten--120 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263 (1928-29)

"Although it would never occur to the Jibaros to put salt in the food, they, on the other hand, consider another kind of spice almost indispensable, namely, Indian pepper (Capsicum), called hīmya in the Jibaro language. Different varieties of Capsicum are cultivated by the Jibaros and they are all exceedingly strong. One variety is so strong that it is only used for the preparation of arrow-poison. If a white man frequently finds the food of the Indians--especially their soups--almost uneatable, this is chiefly due to the fact that it is so peppery that a European palate and throat can hardly stand it. When the Indians eat meat and fish, they generally have some boiled Indian pepper placed on a special plate or banana leaf and eat some of the spice according to taste. More frequently still they eat the pepper crude, taking a few seeds directly from the sheath.

The CANELOS INDIANS, although nowadays they understand the use of salt (cachi) as a spice, at the same time appreciate Indian pepper also. The pot containing boiled Indian pepper (utchu manga) plays as important a part at the meals of these Indians as salt, ordinary pepper, pickles, and other kinds of spice play at the dining-table of civilized peoples."

1: Karsten--121 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 273 (1928-29)

"In the life of the Indians of the Amazon territory certain drinks play almost as important a part as the food. The beer brewed from the manioc root is in fact the 'national drink' of these natives, without which they could not exist. It is brewed in the way known from many South American tribes: the roots are boiled, a part of them is carefully masticated and mixed with saliva, the liquid is spat out into a special pot and mixed with a quantity of mashed, but not masticated, manioc, whereupon the whole mass is carefully stirred with a stick and the pot covered with banana leaves while the contents ferment. On the following day the substance is generally sufficiently fermented to be used. As mentioned before, it is kept in a special big clay pot which has its place in the women's department.

The manioc-beer cannot be brewed except by the women, a custom which the Indians themselves explain by pointing out that the manioc has a woman's soul (wakani) and that therefore only a woman can properly influence it for the purpose of bringing it to fermentation. But when ready, the drink is particularly appreciated by the men, serving them as food as well as a drink. When the Indian goes out on a journey, on a hunting, fishing, or war expedition, he never fails to take with him a quantity of the fermented manioc substance enveloped in banana leaves. By diluting some of the substance with water he can, while on a journey, prepare the beer whenever he likes, and as long as he has his nihamanchi he is able to do without any other food for days.

1: Karsten--121 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 273 (1928-29)

Exactly the same may be said of the Canelos Indians, who call the fermented manioc-beer asua.

Both tribes also brew a kind of beer from the boiled fruits of the chontaruru palm. The Jibaros have a special chontaruru feast which is celebrated at the time when the fruit of the chontaruru palm grows ripe, in February and March.

Similarly both tribes know, besides the ordinary manioc-beer, a special manioc-wine, called sangucha shiki by the Jibaros and shutushca yacu by the Canelos Indians. How the manioc-wine is prepared will appear from the descriptions I shall give later on of the feasts of the Jibaro Indians. On these occasions, as we shall see, the manioc-beer is also brewed with special ceremonies."

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

"The agricultural practices of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are founded on a special animistic view in regard to the plants which they cultivate. All trees and plants are animated by spirits--the Jibaros call them wakańi, the Canelos Indians aya or supai (1)--who affect their growth and the ripening of their fruit. These wakańi, aya, or supai are to the Indians nothing but spirits or souls of men which have taken up their abode in the plants and have thus become plant souls. The animistic philosophy of these Indians does not recognize any particular kind of plant spirits as distinct from spirits of men, just as it does not recognize particular animal spirits or spirits of inanimate natural objects. There is only one kind of spirit or demon, who inhabits men, animals, plants, or inanimate objects, and who may also permanently or occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. This view which, of course, is intimately connected

---

"1. In the Quichua language aya means 'soul' in general, whereas supai means 'demon'. All supai are aya, but all aya are not supai. According to the idea of the Canelos Indians, poisonous plants--for instance those ofwhich they prepare their arrow-poison-- and plants with extraordinarily strong properties are animated by supai, the rest by aya."

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, forms a characteristic feature of the religion of the Jibaros, as, in fact, of the Indian religion in general. According to the mythology of the Jibaros, all animals have once been men, and although there is not a similar myth in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that animate them have once inhabited human bodies, just as they may once more, either for a longer period or only incidentally, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thoughts and feelings, and when intoxicated by certain narcotic [123] drinks--made of tobacco and two other narcotizing plants--the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definite human form, namely as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant; some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women.

This idea also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192, 137, 241 (1928-29)

"The following trees and plants are cultivated by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians; the names in the Jibaro and in the Quichua language are indicated with Jib. and Qu. respectively:

Manioc (Manihot aipi, Jib. máma or tsanímba, Qu. lúmu) of many different classes, plantain (Jib. pa'ańdama, Qu. palańda), batatas(Convolvulus batatas, Jib. ínchi, Qu. kumál), mani or earth-nuts (Jib. nuśsi, Qu. ínchi), beans (Jib. mika, Qu. poroto (1), sanahoria (Daucus carota, Jib. maya, Qu. sanahoria), maize (Jib. sháya, Qu. saŕa), mandi (2), (Jib. sańgu, Qu. mandi), a kind of sweet potato (a vine), (Jib. kingi, Qu. papa chambo), pumpkin (Jib. yui, Qu. sapallu (3), the chonta palm (Jib. uí, Qu. chuntarúru), and the sugar cane (Jib. pa'ata, Qu. huiru).

The Indians also cultivate the Capsicum or Indian pepper (Jib. hīmya, Qu. uíchu), the naranhilla (Solanum quitense, called narangi in both languages), and the tomato which the Jibaros call kukućhi.

The gourd tree (Jib. tsaṕpa, Qu. pilchi) is also cultivated, but only because of the dishes and water-bottles which are prepared from its large fruit, and which the Indians use in their daily life."

"1. Spanish poroto.
2. A plant producing a fruit similar to the manioc.
3. Spanish zapallo."

I: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

"Of the numerous cultivated plants which play a part in the magical medicine and the religious customs of the Indians the following deserve to be mentioned:--

First of all we have the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. nateḿa, Qu. aya huaśca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians.

How the tobacco, the nateḿa, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaḱu, Qu. manduŕu), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body.

Of the plants mentioned above, the following are regarded as 'women', that is, as being animated by a female wakańi (aya): the manioc, the camote, the sanahoria, the bean, the earth-nut, the sweet potato, the mandi, the pumpkin, the gourd tree, the tsinsímba, the chikí, and the roucou shrub; whereas the following are regarded as 'men', that is, as animated by a male wakańi or aya: the plantain, the maize, the chonta palm, and the narcotic plants tobacco, Banisteria caapi, and Datura arborea, as well as the varvasco.

Consistently with this idea we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Maḿa (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nuśsi (earth-nut), Ipyaḱu (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paándama (plantain), Uí (chonta palm), and Maíkoa.

As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the

1: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--125-126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 773 (1928-29)

---

"All agricultural practices of the Jibaros centre round the particular deity of the women, the great Earth-mother Nungüi. She has not only taught the women agriculture, but also all kinds of housework and duties incumbent on the married Jibaro women, especially how to feed and tend the principal domestic animals, the swine and hens, and the hunting dogs. In order fully to understand the Jibaro customs relating to agriculture, it seems, therefore necessary to know the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi.

In the chapters on the myths of the Jibaros I shall relate this myth in full. Here it may only be necessary to mention its main points.

Nungüi, the Earth-mother, is the being who is worshipped by the Jibaros as the originator of that important part of the Jibaro culture which is represented by the women. In ancient times, we are told, the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruits which they cultivate to-day and they had nothing to eat. At that time there lived a Jibaro woman called Ungucha. When wandering on the bank of the river looking for food she met the Earth-mother Nungüi and asked her for manioc. Nungüi gave her manioc-beer ready made in a clay pot; she gave her plantations ready worked up and sown with manioc, plantain, batatas, maize, earth-nuts, and all other fruits which the Jibaros now cultivate; she gave her all kinds of game ready prepared. Everything was given to Ungucha gratuitously, without her having to work. But Ungucha proved ungrateful and made unjust demands on Nungüi, so that at last Nungüi left her and retired to the interior of the earth where she still lives. Now the *Jibaros* would again have suffered from famine after the Earth-mother left them. But she had already taught them agriculture, to make plantations and to sow the seeds, and the fruits thus grew of themselves in due time.

Nungüi is still worshipped as the great Earth-mother by the *Jibaro* women--the word Nungüi itself is derived from the same root as the [126] word núnga, 'earth'. When new plantations are made, when the plants are sown, the women never fail to invoke, in special incantations, Nungüi herself and also her mythical husband, ShakaFma, who formerly did the same agricultural work as the *Jibaro* men still do, namely, clearing the ground for making new plantations. When at the 'feast of the women', or on other occasions, the married *Jibaro* women drink the narcotic natéma, Nungüi afterwards appears to them in a dream and teaches them how to tend the fields in order that they shall be very fertile. When the crops fail owing to dryness or from other causes, and famine threatens the *Jibaros*, then Nungüi again appears to the women in a dream consoling them: "You will not die, the fields will again prosper all right and give you food."

1: Karsten--126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

"I have mentioned that an intrinsic connection is supposed to exist between the woman and the plants which she cultivates, just as she is believed to exert a particular influence upon the domestic animals that are confided to her care. This especially holds true of the married woman. When a Jibaro marries and has to found a new household, to make new plantations and breed domestic animals, swine, chickens, and hunting dogs, his first business is to make a special feast for his young wife, through which power and ability is, in a mysterious way, imparted to her for her future obligations. This feast--next to the head-feast the greatest feast of the Jibaros-- is called Noa tsañgu, that is, 'the tobacco feast of the women'. Fully to understand the ideas the Jibaros have about agriculture it is necessary to know the general significance of this feast."

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241 (1928-29)

"The most important of the domestic plants is the manioc, and when new manioc fields are made for a feast, the work is done with special ceremonies.

To plant the manioc, two pieces of the stem of the shrub about ten inches in length, are cut off and fixed in the ground in an oblique position close to each other. Such manioc sticks are planted all along the field at a distance of one to two yards from each other.--The plant bears fruit in about six months.

The rough work, as pointed out before, is done by the men, who fell [127] the trees and clear and level the ground selected for the new plantation --extremely heavy work which takes a long time. This was especially the case in former times when the Indians had only stone axes and knives of chonta wood to use in clearing the virgin forest to make plantations. After this the work of the women begins, who further prepare the ground for the planting.

The young Jibaro woman, in whose honour the feast is to be held, is assisted at the work by an older women who will also lead the ceremonies at the coming feast and is called whuéa. Moreover, her mother, sisters, and other female relatives living in the same house, generally take part in the planting.

To begin the ceremony, the old woman (whuéa) brings a pole or stick, elaborately made of the hard wood of the chonta palm. With this pole, which is called shingi, holes will first be made in the ground for fixing the manioc stems. The latter are, at the

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 241 (1928-29)

beginning of the work, heaped at one end of the new plantation. Close to these stems the chonta pole (shingi) is fixed well into the ground by the whiéa. Each woman is provided with a fully ripe manioc fruit upon which she sits when planting. The woman who is to make the feast and her assistants also are painted red in the face with roucou (Bixa orellana) and have red stripes on the breast and the back.

Before proceeding to work [JKM: planting manioc] the women sit down round the heap of the manioc stems, chanting first to the stems and afterwards to Nungüi herself, calling upon her to be present and to help them in the work:

> 'Don't touch the stems with hard hands,
> slowly, with caution may you touch them.
> Although we have cut them with the iron of the whites,
> may they not take it amiss;
> only to cut the pieces have we used the knife
> May it do no harm; may you grow well,
> may you bear abundant fruit', etc.

Then follows the chant to Nungüi herself. Besides the heap of manioc stems and the shingi, there is a third sacred object. This is a small round stone red or brown in

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241 (1928-29)

colour, which has clearly been found somewhere in the ground. The Jibaro women, however, pretend to have got it in some mysterious way. Nungüi herself has given it to a woman [128] in a dream, when she was intoxicated with the narcotic natéma, in order that she should have luck in agriculture. This wonderful stone is called nantára and is regarded as the special symbol of Nungüi, containing her soul and at the same time the soul of the manioc plant (tsanimba wakáni). The stone is therefore supposed to have the power of summoning Nungüi to help in the work, and consequently of making the manioc grow well. The nantára is covered with an upturned gourd, and the women sit around it while chanting the song to Nungüi:

'Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we are going to sow.
Nungüi, come thou and help us,
come and help us!
Art not thou, art not thou our mother,
are not we thy children?
Whom should we call upon?
We only behold wood and hills.
Thou art the only one who can help us,
us that are going to plant the fruit'.

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 241 (1928-29)

In the following chant the women mention all those different kinds of manioc which the Jibaros know and cultivate, i.e.: the apaćhi maḿa (1), chiańgrapo tsanimba, huambańgtsi tsanimba, parmaćhi tsanimba, wambuchaŕa tsanimba, kapańdinyu tsanimba, chachira tsanimba, nungüimēra tsanimba, sukimaḿa, sütinyu tsanimba, mukuńdra tsanimba, ikiańchama tsanimba, suamaŕa tsanimba, kanüsara tsanimba, and ayańdkashi tsanimba. Each kind of manioc, or rather the soul (wakańi) of each manioc plant, must be especially called upon by name in order to secure a good crop.

When the chants are finished, the women proceed to plant the stems. One of them, the first that the woman who is preparing for the feast will fix in the ground, is taken out from the rest and painted red with roucou. In a small clay pot the whueá has prepared some juice of tobacco by chewing the leaves and mixing them well with saliva. The whueá first gives the younger woman a small quantity of this medicine to drink. The latter, who is bent down for the work, has her manioc fruit placed [129] in the joint between the leg and the thigh. The whueá now takes her by the wrist and guides her hand to the chonta pole, with which she slowly and cautiously makes a hole in the ground.

---

"1. 'The manioc of the whites'."

Immediately afterwards the whueá guides her hand to the manioc stem, painted red with roucou, which is held ready, and makes her place it in the hole with the same caution. Even during the latter operation the whueá is holding her arm by the wrist.

The first manioc stem having thus been ceremonially put in the ground, the work of planting is continued in the ordinary way by the women, each of whom sits upon the manioc fruit with which she is provided, or holds it between the leg and the thigh in the same way as the first woman.

After the work [JKM: planting manioc] is finished, the old woman fixes the chonta pole (shingi) well into the ground at the end of the field where it is then left. The idea is that just as the shingi is firmly planted in the ground, so also the manioc which the women have planted will grow steadily and without disturbance. It still remains, however, for the women to chant to the shingi itself. Sitting round the pole they sing the following chant by which, at the same time, Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma are 'awakened' in order that they may take notice of the planting just finished and promote the growth of the crop.

This chant in the Jibaro language runs as follows:

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 241 (1928-29)

Shingi wairu tu tahei,
'Lifting up the earth with the shingi we have
done the work (of planting),
tu aweiru shindyantamrya´,
Thus we have digged in the earth to awaken thee.
tu tahei, ty tahei.
Thus we have done, thus we have done.
Nungüi noachi assana
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
huí tu tahei, tu tahei.
thus here we have done.
Mamankutu´untsuaheita´,
May thou multiply our crop of manioc,
shindyantamrya´, shindyantamrya´.
wake up, wake up!
Aishiru^kutu´, tsukahei vaitya´, [130]
Dear husband (1), myself I am hungry.

---

"1. i.e., Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi, whom the women invoke as their own husband."

I: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 241 (1928-29)

*aishiru kutu,* *tsukama huahua,*
my husband, hungry is also my child.
*Shindyantamrya,*
Wake up, wake up,
*wari kureithura,*
quickly appear!"

This chant is sung to the same melody as the other incantations at planting and sowing. An example of it will be given later on.

The *shingi,* as we note, is used not only for making the holes into which the manioc stem are planted, but also with a view to awakening, by the digging, Nungüi herself and her husband, who are supposed to dwell in the earth and may perhaps be sleeping.

When the women return to the house, each of them carries in a basket (*changina*) the manioc fruit on which she has sat at the planting. The manioc is at once cooked and eaten by the women, who in eating do not touch the food with their fingers, as is generally done, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

For some time the woman who is the owner of the plantation and is preparing for the tobacco feast,, besides observing the rules of diet mentioned above, takes care not to drink the strong tonic guayusa (prepared from the leaves of the *Ilex*), which the Jibaros

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro -8
116, 241 (1928-29)

use as a vomitory and for washing out the mouth. If she takes guayusa, the tender manioc plantation may dry up. The same would happen if she tasted the brandy of the whites. Nor does the woman, after the work of planting, paint her face with sua (genipa). The black paint prepared from this fruit is very astringent and would therefore make the manioc dry up. Some Jibaro women also take care to loosen the cotton bands (called patáki), which they usually have tied round their upper arms. If the arm is tied with this band, the manioc will likewise be 'tied', so that it cannot grow and develop.

Later on, when the women tend the new manioc plantation and clear it of weeds, they likewise usually chant incantations to Nungüi and the manioc spirit.

Moreover, there is a special danger threatening the tender plant [JKM: manioc] from the machinations of evil witches. A witch-doctor of an enemy [131] family or tribe comes and sees the new plantation, grows jealous, looks at it with an evil eye (tuna hi iasama), and pronounces a curse that the whole thing may be spoiled.

'I have seen the shingi which they have fixed at the end of the field. May everything get spoiled, may the whole plantation rot away, may it turn into forest, may nothing grow there, so that they may have nothing to eat.'

In order to counteract the effects of this malediction and the evil eye of the witch, the women also chant incantations while tending the plant. --"

1: Karsten--131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241, 442 (1928-29)

"Next to the manioc, the plantain is the most important of the fruits that are especially sown or planted for a tobacco-feast. The sprouts of the plant are put into the ground by the men, namely, by the husband of the woman assisted by other male relatives, without particular ceremonies. The success of the work, however, the rapid growth and fruitfulness of the plantation, depend to a great extent on the strict observance of the rules of diet which are imposed upon the husband as well as upon his wife.

After the Jibaro has planted the plantain he, moreover, for some time after takes care not to drink guayusa (*weisa*) or to wash the mouth with this tonic, believing that otherwise the root of the plantain will rot away. The same would happen if he painted his face or head with genipa (*sua*), which therefore he avoids using."

1: Karsten--131-132 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 539 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros also try to promote the growth of the plantain by incantations, directed to Shakaěma, the husband of Nungüi. This, however, does not take place at planting, but some months later when the plantain has already grown large. Both the women and the men sing, sitting inside the plantation. The incantation has reference not only to the plantain, 'the son of the *tumba*', but also to the manioc, now half-grown; hence, besides Shakaěma, Nungüi is also mentioned in it.

The incantation, which is sung to the same melody as the last one, runs as follows:

*Tumbá uchiru apuhkahei,*
'The son of the *tumba* I have planted,
*pingéra ahásahei.*
nicely I have put the sprout in the earth.
*Shakaěma aismanguchi, aishmangú,*
Shakaěma, man in the earth,
*aramú ityursan tsapaicheindyá,* [132]
why don't you promote my plantation?
*tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.*
Why don't you make it grow, why don't you make it flourish?
*Tumbāru, waiari, waiari,*

1: Karsten--131-132 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 241, 539 (1928-29)

My plantation of tumba (1), promptly make it grow,
winchúra, waiari, waiari;
my plantain, promptly, promptly make it develop!
pand'machiru, pand'machiru
My little plantain field,
ityursán tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, also, the woman, we sing:
wambagrura (1), waiari, waiari,
Our manioc sowing, quickly, quickly make it grow!
Shakaĕma, aishmanguna, apusa,
To Shakaĕma, the husband, as well, who planted the plantain.
pingera, tsapaitsi, tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow, make it flourish!

---

"1. The Jibaros here poetically speak of the tumba, the mythical ancestor of the plantain, as if they cultivated also that plant."

1: Karsten--131-132 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241, 539 (1928-29)

*winchura* (2), *waiari*, *waiari*.
My plantain field, quickly make it grow!
*Araki*, *ityursan* *tsapaicheindya*,
My sowing, why don't you promote it,
(*i*) *tyursangi* *tsapaicheindya*,
why don't you promote it?
*Ivyarkamruasmá*, *ityursanginú*
Having nicely cleared the ground,
*tsapaicheindya*, *tsapaicheindya*,
why don't you make it flourish?'"

---

"2. *wambagrúra* and *winchúra*: poetical expressions for the manioc and plantain fields, instead of *mamáru* (*mamanchíru*) and *pand'máru* (*pandmachíru*)."

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241 (1928-29)

"A Jibaro woman who is preparing for a tobacco feast generally sows also batatas (*inchi*), sanahoria (*maya*), the kind of potatoes called *kingí*, beans (*mika*), earth-nuts (*nussi*), and the root called *sangu*. Besides this the men have to sow maize (*shaya*). Of these plants, the beans, the earth-nuts, and the maize are of special interest because of the rules in regard [133] to fasting to which the women or men are subject after the sowing, and which must be observed whether the sowing is done for a tobacco feast or not. Sundry plantations of manioc, plantain, beans, earth-nuts, maize, and so forth, are of course frequently made by the Indians without particular reference to a feast.

I shall presently give an account of the practices which the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians observe at the sowing of beans, earth-nuts, and maize, especially as regards fasting. For the moment it is necessary to mention certain other customs connected with the making of new plantations, which take place especially when the work has been done on a large scale for a feast.

When the whole work of sowing and planting is finished, the women perform certain ceremonies in the house, consisting of dancing and chanting, in order to make the new fields grow well and secure a good crop. During five successive nights, from sunset to dawn, they perform a ring dance called *Ihiámbrama* in the house of the principal woman (i. e. the woman who will make the feast), wearing festival dresses and rattles round the cincture, and singing incantations to Nungüi and her husband Shakaíma. These incantations are much the same as those sung before when sowing the plantation, and they are also sung later, at the great fertility feast itself, the *Noa tsangu.*

The following is an example of these incantations.

*Kashi ningi*
'At night united we sing,
*Nungüi noa assana,*
being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
*Nungüi noachina:*
to Nungüi, the woman, we sing:
*mama untsuaheita,*
Multiply the manioc,
*inchi untsuaheita,*
multiply the camote,
*nussi untsuaheita,*
multiply the earth-nuts,
*kingi untsuaheita,*
multiply the potatoes,

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241 (1928-29)

sangu untsuaheita, [134]
multiply the sangu,
ashi, ashi untsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Nungüi noa assan kutú,
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we imya untsumarahei.
we thus have called upon her.
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, the woman,
arutama nunganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungüi noana tu tihei:
to Nungüi, the woman, thus we have sung:
yurúmgachi úntsuaheita,
Promptly multiply thou our crops,
mamankutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 241 (1928-29)

multiply our crop of camote,
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
sangu, sangu, úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of sangu,
ashi úntsuaheita,
everything multiply!
Shakaema aishmanguchi,
Shakaema, the husband, as well,
amisha húi úntsuaheita,
may thou fructify the crops!
Amisha ni, kambungisa,
Thee also, who hast felled the trees,
ivyarsamunmá,
who hast cleared the ground,
imya untsumárahei:
thus we have called upon:
Mamankutú úntsuaheita,
Multiply our crop of manioc,

inchikutá íntsumheita,
multiply our crop of camote,[135]
nuseikutá íntsumheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
áshi, áshi íntsumheita,
everything, everything multiply"!

Other chants, sung on the same occasion and in connection with the dance, are directed against certain enemies of the new plantations, the rats, rabbits, and other rodents, which eat the tender sprouts or dig [136] up the seeds sown in the fields of the beans, the earth-nuts, and the maize.

The plants, however, are more infested with these enemies at a later period, or more strictly speaking, when the fruits are ripening. The rats then especially damage the manioc, plantain, and camote fields. In order to exorcise this danger and protect the crops the Jibaro women perform the following ceremony. They take the shell of a manioc fruit, which has been eaten by the rats, and put some ashes into it. Upon this shell they put the shell of a plantain, gnawed by rats, together with some ashes. Lastly, upon these shells they put a third shell of a camote, gnawed by the same rodents, the shell being likewise strewn with ashes. All three shells are Then placed in a piece of an old, broken clay pot (called habáchi). The women now form a ring round the broken

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 241 (1928-29)

clay pot containing the three fruit shells and begin to dance, singing a sort of chant or incantation to expel the rats.

This incantation runs as follows:

Katipichi, pand'machiru,
'Little rat, my crop of plantain,
Katipichi, inchichiru
little rat, my crop of camote,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Mamanchiru takarseipya,
My little manioc crop, don't touch it,
takarseipya, takarseipya. ?
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Winya mamaru,
My manioc field,
winya pand'maru,
my plantain field,
winya inchiru,
my camote field,

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 241 (1928-29)

*tabaresipya, tabaresipya,*
don't touch it, don't touch it!
*Yapamikipya,*
Don't eat my crop at night,
*Yapamikipya,*
don't eat it at night!" [137]

After the dance is finished the broken clay pot, with the fruit shells which it contains, is thrown away into the forest. The rats are now believed to leave the plantations unmolested.

With regard to the ceremony just described it must be mentioned that the *Jibaros* make use of broken clay pots (*hakáchi*) at certain cathartic rites, when they want to get rid of something that is dangerous, impure, and detestable. Ashes, again, are regarded as an antidote against evil spirits.

Among the *Jibaros* and the Canelos Indians the earth-nuts, the beans, and the maize are sown with special care, and the men or women who do the work must afterwards observe certain strict rules with regard to their diet, even when the sowing has not been done particularly for a feast. This seems to be due to the fact that the plants mentioned are more delicate than other domestic plants, the sowing being easily damaged or spoiled from various causes.

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 241 (1928-29)

When earth-nuts are sown among the Jibaros, the women who take part in the work have their faces painted red with roucou, transverse red strokes being likewise painted over and below the chest and on the [138] back. Moreover, each seed put in the ground is painted red with the same dye. If one asks the reason for this practice, the Jibaros only answer that it is a custom handed down from their ancestors that when earth-nuts are sown both the women themselves and the seed must be painted red in this way. Otherwise the plant would not flourish.

When the work is finished, the women perform the dance Ihiámbrama for five successive nights in the house, incantations being sung to Nungüi, just as after the planting of manioc. Chants are likewise sung to prevent the rats from harming the new sowing.

For some months afterwards, or until the plant [JKM: earth-nuts] is nearly full-grown, the women have to observe the following rules of diet. They are not allowed to eat the flesh of the howling monkey (yákuma) or of the squirrel (kunámbi); nor must they eat the intestines (ambúhe) of any animal, blood, the fat of swine, tadpoles (wambúcha), fish roes (tēri námaka), a crab living in fresh water called uriki, or snails (tsúntsu), nor chew sugar cane. Of vegetables they are forbidden to eat palm tops (ĭhu). As to fish, they must not eat the two large fishes wámbi (Spanish bocachupa) and the sheat-fish (nápi).

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 241 (1928-29)

These rules of diet are based on the following ideas. The fell of the howling monkey and the squirrel is reddish-yellow, as if it had been burned by the sun. If the women eat the flesh of these animals after having sown earth-nuts, the new plants will soon have the same reddish-yellow colour, that is, they will be burned by the sun and dry up. If the women eat the intestines of various animals, the plants will soon fall asunder in small pieces and be spoiled. The same will happen if they eat things that flow, or that easily melt away and vanish, like blood, the fat of swine, and the sweet liquid contained in the sugar cane; or that are of a very loose consistency so that they easily dissolve, like tadpoles, fish roes, and the flesh of the crab and the snail. The plants will lack consistency, dissolve, and be spoiled. For the same reason the women must abstain from eating the palm top, which consists of loose fibres and easily falls asunder.

That the women are forbidden to eat the fish wámbi is due to the fact that this fish has a red tail and red fins, though the rest of it is entirely white. The Jibaros fancy that the leaves of the tender shoots will soon get the same colour as the tail and the fins of the fish, that is, they will dry up.

Again, the large and strong nápi is a very lively fish, which, when caught, sprawls violently and is difficult to restrain. If the woman eats this fish after having sown, the seed will get no rest, and will not be [139] able to grow quietly, but will be continually

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 241 (1928-29)

disturbed by some enemies (animals, violent winds, etc.) and consequently spoiled(1).

When the Jibaro women have sown the beans, they are subject to the same rules of diet for some months afterwards, or until the crop is well developed and begins to bear fruit."

---

"1. It is worth mentioning that when, among the Jibaros, a child is born, the father and mother for some time afterwards abstain from eating the fish nápi for the same reason. Otherwise the delicate new-born child would be tired out and get no rest."

l: Karsten--139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

" Similar restrictions in regard to food are laid upon the men after they have sown the maize. Thus they do not eat Indian pepper (hīmya), because otherwise the maize would become red and inferior in quality. Indian pepper (Capsicum), as is well known, is red in colour. They abstain from eating the larva mukindi, which lives in the tops of certain palms, because otherwise the maize would be infested with worms. They moreover abstain from chewing sugar cane, because in that case the maize would rot away, and from eating the top of the palm called tunduáma, because if they do eat it, the cobs of maize will become empty (without grains) owing to the effects of violent winds."

1: Karsten--139-140 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

"As to the sowing of the maize, it may be mentioned that the Jibaros formerly used to put in the seeds with the same care as is still used with the manioc, the trees being felled first, the ground cleared, and the plantations elaborately made. Even a chonta pole (shingi) was then used for making the holes in the ground, and the same ceremonies observed with it as at the planting of manioc. This mode of sowing the maize still prevails among the Canelos Indians. On the other hand, the Jibaros proper nowadays simply throw the seeds on the spot in the forest selected for the field and let them grow, without previously clearing the ground. It is not until later on, when the plant has a length of about 20 to 30 cm., that the trees are felled. The trunks, however, are not removed but left on the field, as they protect the new plantation against the violent hurricanes which might otherwise destroy it.

When the maize is ripe, the plant is frequently infested by maggots which enter the maize-heads under the leaves and eat the fruit. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians then try to exterminate the maggots in the following way. They take a maize-head which is particularly infested with maggots, put some chewed tobacco leaves together with some Capsicum or Indian pepper round it, envelop the whole thing in some other leaves and take the bundle into the house, where it is hung up [140] in the smoke over the fire. Here the bundle is left for some time, until it is quite dried and half consumed, after which it is thrown away. By this procedure the maggots are supposed to disappear from the whole plantation."

1: Karsten--140-142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241 (1928-29)

"The rules of precaution observed by the CANELOS INDIANS in connection with agriculture differ in some details from those in vogue among the Jibaros. When, at Canelos, a woman has planted the manioc, she abstains for eight days from touching a broom to sweep the house. All dirt and waste is left untouched until the eight days have elapsed. If she cleaned the house, the manioc would fall asunder and be spoiled. For the same reason she refrains, during the same period, from sharpening a knife with a stone, nor does she split the fire-wood with an axe, but instead of that uses a big knife (machete). If she touched the axe, the manioc would not grow thick but very thin like the handle of the axe.

Again, when the men have planted the plantain, for eight days they abstain from eating roasted plantain, since otherwise the fruit in the new plantation would grow very thin and small. Nor do they bathe in the river during the eight days, lest the new plantation should get too much water and rot away.

When the Canelos women have sown earth-nuts (inchi) and beans, they take care not to taste sweet things, brandy, and other strong drinks, the fat of swine, blood, the intestines of any animals, a snail living in the water (chúru) and a fat worm or larva called tuku, living in the top of a certain palm and generally eaten by the Indians. If the woman infringes these rules, the earth-nuts and beans will grow very small, or the whole crop be spoiled; they also take care not to eat a certain fish called náchi which

1: Karsten--140-142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 241 (1928-29)

has very sharp teeth and eats hard seeds and kernels. If the woman eats this fish, the new crop will be badly infested with rats and rabbits. For the same reason she does not eat the squirrel and the guatusa (agouti), rodents that are great enemies of the plantations of the Indians, or the parrot, which likewise has a sharp beak and eats seeds of any kind.

Having sown earth-nuts, the Canelos woman also abstains from eating and touching the flesh of the deer as well as of the nose-bear (Nasua rufa). If she eats the flesh of these animals, or even touches it with her hands, a certain ant which the Canelos Indians call rahuai añangu, 'the blood ant', will infest the sowing. The deer was formerly, and the nose-bear is still, to the mind of these Indians a demoniac animal.

[141] All these precautions are observed for two or three months, until the new plantation has grown and is well developed.

When the men have sown the maize, they too for a couple of months are subject to certain precautionary rules. They do not eat palm tops (yúyu), for otherwise the maize would grow very small, nor the larva túku, for then the new plants would rot away, the túku making the palm tops where it lives rot. Similarly they abstain from eating the harmful rodents, the agouti and the squirrel. Nor do they eat a large fish called hándya which has very sharp teeth, for then some rodents will eat the maize. When a Canelos Indian has been out hunting and returns home with some birds, he takes care not to pluck the birds in the forest or on the way, but takes them home feathers and all. The men themselves cannot pluck them; this is done by the women or the children of the house. If the man himself plucked the birds, the leaves of the maize plant would fall asunder like the plumes of the bird, and the plantation be spoiled. With regard to a sort of woodpecker, called chili, it is considered necessary that it should be plucked in the maize plantation itself, where the feathers are then left. When afterwards the man who has sown the maize and caught the bird happens to come to the plantation and see the feathers, he immediately takes the precaution of blackening his hands with carbon and, moreover, makes cutting movements all around them with a knife. In his having seen the feathers it may seem as if he had himself plucked the bird, and the precaution mentioned will counteract the evil consequences arising from this.

Even certain plants that do not serve as food, but are cultivated for other purposes, require that the person who has planted them should, before or afterwards, observe certain rules with regard to his mode of life.

When among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians the men plant the varvasco, they afterwards abstain from eating the intestines and blood of animals. They are also forbidden to eat the small fish called sachma; nor do they drink strong drinks like brandy, guayusa, and the narcotic natéma (aya huasca). They cannot touch the blood of the

1: Karsten--140-142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 241 (1928-29)

agouti nor skin that animal or take out the intestines. Roasted plantain they do not eat; in that case the varvasco will dry up. The intestines of animals--also parts like the lungs, the heart, the liver--they cannot eat because the plant would rot away. Brandy, guayusa, and *natéma* they cannot drink, because these strong drinks would have harmful effects upon the plant. [142]

These rules must be observed until the varvasco is half-grown. After the Indians have put the shoot in the earth they blow chewed tobacco and strew mashed Indian pepper upon the plant, which will have the effect of making the varvasco poison strong.

When the Jibaro men have to plant the narcotic plants *natéma* and *maikoa*, they abstain for some days previously from cohabiting with their wives. When engaged in the planting work they must be 'chaste as youths', otherwise the plant will soon dry up. This custom is, at all events, observed by some Jibaros. Others, on the other hand, have asserted to me that they do not observe particular precautionary rules in connection with such planting.

When the Indian women have planted the gourd tree, they afterwards strike themselves with the hands on the breasts, in the belief that thus the fruit of the gourd tree will grow large like the breasts of the women. When the tree has grown big, the Canelos women are in the habit of hanging the shells of the forest snail (called *chúru*) upon its branches, in order that it shall bear large and abundant fruit."

1: Karsten--142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 828 (1928-29)

"All the rules in regard to fasting mentioned above originate in a special idea, deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians with whom we are dealing. Not only do they believe that a man, by eating a certain animal or a certain vegetable, may acquire the characteristic qualities of that animal or vegetable even in minute details. They are firmly convinced that there exists such an intimate relation between a man and the work he is doing or has just done that his own qualities, both the essential and usual ones and those temporarily acquired--through eating a certain food or in other ways--may literally be transferred to the object or result of his work. A man in the most real sense of the word puts something of his soul into the work he is doing, the effects of this transference making themselves felt even for some time after it has been finished. Numerous other instances referring to different departments of the domestic industry of the Indians have already been mentioned which illustrate this view, and others will presently be mentioned. A custom like the couvade, for instance, which occurs among the Jibaros in an interesting form, will be found to rest upon similar ideas."

1: Karsten--143 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 221 (1928-29)

"Next to agriculture, hunting and fishing are the principal means of subsistence of the Ecuadorian Indians. The virgin forests of Western Amazonas are in general rich in game, except in those parts which lie close to the Indian habitations where, owing to the steady persecution of the native hunters, it is scarcer. Similarly the rivers abound in fish, and as a matter of fact could give the Indians half of their food supply if they devoted themselves to fishing more than they actually do."

1: Karsten--143 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"Besides firearms, which are now known to most tribes, the lance and the blowgun are the most important hunting implements of the Ecuadorian Indians. The lance is used for killing big game like the tapir, the wild hog, and the deer, as well as beasts like the jaguar and the bear. With the blowgun and poisoned arrows the Indians hunt birds, monkeys, and other smaller quadrupeds.

For hunting big game and smaller animals the Indians commonly use dogs of a special mixed race which are bred with great care. This is particularly the case with the Jibaros, who are in the habit of making a great feast in honour of their dogs, called 'the feast of the dogs', by which strength and ability for the tracing and pursuing of the game are supposed to be imparted to them."

l; Karsten--143-145 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 171 (1928-29)

"The arrow-poisons in vogue among the Indians of Western Amazonas seem to belong to the class known under the general name of 'curare', [144] of which one of the most important ingredients is the alcaloid poison found in various Strychnos species. The Macusi Indians of Guiana are the best known of the South American arrow-poison makers, and it is possible that this invention--one of the most ingenious of those of savage peoples--was originally passed on to the Indians of the Amazon territory. However this may be, it must be stated at once that even in Eastern Ecuador and Peru the 'curare' poisons differ considerably; nay, there are even arrow-poisons of which we do not know with certainty whether they can be called 'curare' at all, for instance the one used by the savage Avishiries living in the region of the river Curaray and its affluent Villano. According to the statements of the rubber collectors who have been in contact with this little known tribe, their arrow-poison is exceedingly effective, and their blowguns, which I have seen myself, are of a type differing greatly from those used by other Indian tribes in the Ecuadorian Oriente. In general, the arrow-poisons used by the Indians of these regions are very imperfectly known, so that the information I was able to gain about those in vogue among the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros of the Pastaza, although incomplete from a pharmacological point of view, may be of considerable interest.

Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison, only a few of them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza. [145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes.

1: Karsten--143-145 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 278, 171 (1928-29)

Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots'(1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

---

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesús en el Marañon Español, p. 87."

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"Naturally, to be able to study the Indian arrow-poison properly, one needs to be, not only an ethnologist, but also a botanist and pharmacologist, and since I am not an expert in the latter respect, my study of the Indian arrow-poisons must be imperfect. Only in exceptional cases have I been able to identify scientifically the plants which the Indians use for the purpose. As a rule I can only give their names in the language of the Indians and a short general description--e. g. whether a vine, a shrub, a big tree, and so on--as well as the necessary data for preparing them in order to obtain an effective arrow-poison. Yet even so I believe I have done future students of the Indian arrow-poisons a good service, since a botanical expert, guided by my data, will, helped by the Indians, easily obtain the necessary material for his investigations. Considering the very imperfect knowledge chemists and physiologists at present possess of the vegetable ingredients of which, for instance, the so-called curare poison is composed, I can only hope that some properly trained botanical expert may some time have an opportunity to study them on the spot. It would also be very important to obtain and bring home, not only, as hitherto, samples of the prepared poison, but all those different vegetables from which the different tribes prepare it, and to have them separately examined. Only in this way can it be established, for instance, which ingredients have really practical effects, and which are, perhaps, only used for superstitious reasons.

[146] I shall first give an account of the mode of preparing the arrow-poison among

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 278 (1928-29)

the CANELOS INDIANS.

These Indians prepare their poison from 25 to 30 different ingredients, all of which are obtained from the plant world. Of these at any rate the most important I noted down. My Indian informant, although himself an old poison-maker, declared that there is scarcely an Indian who can from memory enumerate all the plants required in preparing the arrow-poison. As they roam about in the forest in search of the necessary material they recollect, little by little, in conversation with one another, the different vines, roots, herbs, and other plants which will produce the desired result.

The Canelos Indians, just as other Quichua-speaking Indians of the Ecuadorian Oriente, call the poison pucúna hámbi. Pucúna is the name of the blowgun with which the poisoned arrows are blown; hambi is the general name for a magic medicine to which supernatural powers (due to the presence of a spirit or demon) are ascribed. The name hámbi is applied both to real drugs and remedies obtained from the plant world and to poisons like the arrow-poison.

The Indians of the Napo and some Canelos Indians call their arrow-poison ticúna, because formerly they obtained it from the Ticuna Indians on the Amazon.

Huásca is the Quichua name for a 'vine' or 'liana'; rúya signifies any 'big tree' with a straight stem, whereas cáspi is a more general name for a 'tree' or 'shrub'. Múyu is the 'fruit' of a tree or the 'seed' of a plant; cára signifies the 'bark of a tree'.

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 278 (1928-29)

The following plants and trees, with their Quichua names, are those used by the Canelos Indians in preparing the arrow-poison.

1. Varvásçu. This name includes two or three different plants which are also used in fishing, the fish being stupefied with the poisonous juice squeezed from the root. The plant used for the arrow-poison is probably Cracca toxicaria, a small, leguminous bush containing an alcaloid called rotidona. In order to get the juice, the root is crushed with a club and boiled for a while in a special pot; when the poison is extracted, the roots are taken out, leaving the liquid.

2. Hámbi lállu is a bush, growing wild; its poisonous properties are obtained as follows: - - a piece of the stem is cut off, the bark removed and thrown away, the wood substance crushed and boiled for some hours. [147]

3. Pála huásca is a big flat liana, about 12 to 15 cm. in breadth, which creeps up the giant trees of the virgin forest. Because of its flatness it is called 'the shovel-liana' (pala = 'shovel'). A piece of the stem is cut off, crushed with stones and boiled for some two hours in a special pot.

4. Cáñu huásca, a liana of about the same size as the pála huásca. Along the middle of this liana there runs a deep channel from which it takes its name (cáñu = 'channel'). Cáñu huásca is prepared in the same way as the pála huásca.

5. Payángshi is a big yellow liana creeping under the earth. A small sprout pro-

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 278 (1928-29)

truding from the earth indicates its presence. It is prepared in the same way as the lianas already mentioned, a piece of the stem being cut off, crushed and boiled.

6. Ilúchi is a small shrub. There are two species of it, differing in size, the larger being called hátun ilúchi (1) about 1 1/2 m. long, the smaller one, uchílla ilúchi, about 1/2 to 1 m. long. The root of both these shrubs is used; the bark is useless, and is therefore scraped off and thrown away; the yellow substance under it is taken out and boiled for a while.

7. Tuníshpa huásca (tunishpa ='mixed') is a shrub which is so called from its resemblance to the shrub ilúchi. When it is used for arrow-poison the bark is scraped from the stem and boiled.

8. Ápa huásca (ápa = 'old', 'ancient') is a big liana prepared in the same way as the pala and the cañu huasca.

9. Cüilin huásca (cüilin = a bird of the tucan family) is a small liana, about 3 to 4 cm. in diameter and is prepared in the same way as ápa huasca and the other lianas.

10. Hámbi huásca is a long thick liana creeping up the biggest trees of the virgin forest. At the top it is thicker than at the lower end, and the thick parts of the stem

---

"1. hatun ='big', uchilla ='small'. "

are especially used. A number of small pieces are cut off by two Indians, so many that they are quite a burden. These pieces are prepared in the usual way, *i. e.* crushed with clubs and boiled for a while in a small pot. The woody pieces are then taken out leaving the liquid.

11. *Lispúngu múyu*. *Lispúngu* is the name of a tall, thick tree of the forest with fruit about the size of that of the gourd tree. The fruit is cut up, the small seeds taken out, ground, and boiled separately in a special pot. Then the liquid is strained through a piece of linen and the essence carefully pressed out. [148]

12. *Hámbi múyu*. Of this plant there are three species, of which two are used for the arrow-poison. The one is a tree called *hátun hámbi múyu* the other is a shrub called *uchílla hámbi múyu*: of both the red and comparatively small fruit is used. In preparing the *hátun hámbi múyu*, the fruit is cut open, its seeds taken out and ground. A considerable quantity, say a small wooden basin full, of these ground seeds is boiled in a special pot, then it is strained and the essence, which is white, pressed out just as in the case of the *lispúngu múyu*.

In using the *uchílla hámbi múyu* the small red fruit is cut open and the seeds taken out and ground.

13. *Tarapútu cara* is a vine the leaves of which are similar to those of the tarapoto palm. There are several varieties of this vine and all of them are used in preparing

the arrow-poison. The black bark is scraped off the vine with a knife until the desired quantity has been obtained; this is then boiled.

14. *Cicuánga caspi*, 'the tucan tree' (*cicuánga* = 'tucan') is a beautiful high tree. A certain quantity of the bark is scraped off and boiled.

15. *Hámbi cára cáspi*. A small shrub. The rind is scraped off and prepared exactly in the same way as the *Cicuánga cáspi*.

16. *Yána hámbi cáspi*. A small shrub. The root of it is used, being crushed with a club and boiled, just as was done with the rind of the *hámbi cára cáspi* and other shrubs.

17. *Chilíca cáspi*. A big tree. The bark is scraped off and prepared in the same way as the previous ones.

18. *Chíhun cáspi*. A shrub. The root is cut into small pieces and boiled for about half a day in a special pot until its poisonous juice is set free, in the form of a concentrate.

19. *Ahuiríngri caspi*. The ginger shrub (*Zingiber officinale*?). The root is cleaned and boiled for about two hours.

20. *Hámbi pahuága*. A big tree. The thick bark is detached from the stem, crushed with stones and boiled.

21. *Mándi*. There are two species of this plant. The one is small with edible fruit

and leaves, and cultivated by the Canelos Indians for its nutritive value. The other one is bigger and poisonous and only used in the preparation of the arrow-poison. The rind of the stem is taken, carefully cleaned, and then boiled.

22. *Pála pánga rúya.* A small shrub of which the root is used. Up to ten roots are taken, the small fibres separated and boiled in a special [149] pot on a slow fire for a long time--nearly two days; a concentrated poisonous liquid results.

23. *Huaránga quihua.* A small plant of which the root is boiled.

24. *Hámbi útchu,* Indian pepper (*Capsicum*). The Indians cultivate different species of *Capsicum.* The one called *hámbi útchu* is small, yellow in colour, and so strong that it cannot be used as spice. It is exclusively used in preparing the arrow-poison. The whole fruit is boiled for a while and then mashed.

25. *Matíri útchu,* another kind of *Capsicum.* This is bigger than the *hámbi útchu,* red in colour, and also used as spice. When it is used for the preparation of the arrow-poison the seeds are taken out, mashed, and boiled in a little water.

Of these liquids and mashes nearly all, after being boiled separately, are placed together in a large pot for further boiling.

The exceptions are:--

No 10. *Hámbi huásca*--the liquid obtained is evaporated over a little fire until only a small concentrate is left, and this is dropped into the large pot, a little at a time.

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 278 (1928-29)

No. 12. 2nd species--uchílla hámbi múyu--of which the ground seeds are placed in the large pot without being boiled first.

After thus learning the different plants which yield the ingredients necessary for the arrow-poison, we must examine somewhat more closely how the poison is prepared and what ideas the Indians associate with it."

1: Karsten [illegible]
192 [illegible]

"1. Variás [illegible] in fishing, the [illegible] plant used for the [illegible] bush containing [illegible] crushed with a [illegible] the roots are taken [illegible]

2. Hamdi [illegible] follows [illegible] a pi[illegible] substan[illegible]

3. Pá[illegible] the giant [illegible] liana (pa[illegible] for [illegible]

4. [illegible] dle of th[illegible] net") [illegible]

5. Pa[illegible] truding from the earth [illegible] lianas already [illegible]

1: Karsten--146-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
192, 137 (1928-29)

6. *Ilúchi* is a small shrub. There are two species of it, differing in size, the larger being called *hátun ilúchi* (1) about 1 1/2 m. long, the smaller one, *uchílla ilúchi*, about 1/2 to 1 m. long. The root of both these shrubs is used; the bark is useless, and is therefore scraped off and thrown away; the yellow substance under it is taken out and boiled for a while.

7. *Tuníshpa huásca* (*tuníshpa* = 'mixed') is a shrub which is so called from its resemblance to the shrub *ilúchi*. When it is used for arrow-poison the bark is scraped from the stem and boiled.

8. *Ápa huásca* (*ápa* = 'old', 'ancient') is a big liana prepared in the same way as the *pala* and the *cañu huásca*.

9. *Cüílin huásca* (*cüilin* = a bird of the tucan family) is a small liana, about 3 to 4 cm. in diameter and is prepared in the same way as *ápa huasca* and the other lianas.

10. *Hámbi huásca* is a long thick liana creeping up the biggest trees of the virgin forest. At the top it is thicker than at the lower end, and the thick parts of the stem are especially used. A number of small pieces are cut off by two Indians, so many that they are quite a burden. These pieces are prepared in the usual way, *i. e.* crushed

---

"1. *hatun* = 'big', *uchilla* = 'small'."

1: Karsten--149
116, 415

Jivaro

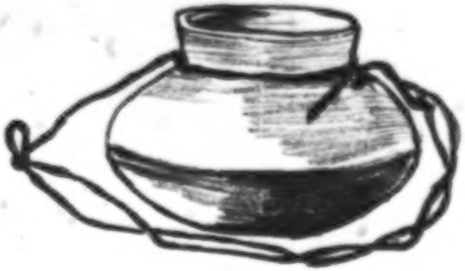


Fig. 3. Clay Pot for keeping arrow-poison. Canelos.

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

"The poison cook is not an ordinary medicine-man, he is nevertheless a kind of sorcerer, since the making of the poison, as we shall presently see, is a sort of magical or religious ceremony. It is clear that the poison can only be prepared by a man who possesses the necessary knowledge and experience. Among the Canelos Indians the poison cooks are generally two men, both elderly, who know how to influence the particular demons active in the poisonous plants. The cooking cannot take place in the house, but only in the forest, where the sorcerers can enter into direct communication with the spirits of the plants. Similarly, the pots in which the poisonous ingredients are boiled must be specially made for the purpose by the cooks themselves. Pots which have been previously used [150] for other purposes, for instance for cooking food, will not do. Ordinary cooking pots would also be useless because of the salt which the Canelos Indians put into their food, for salt, which is regarded as an antidote against the arrow-poison, must not come into contact with it. The poison cooks prepare themselves for their work by fasting one day previously, being allowed to eat only roasted green plantains without salt. Nor can they have intercourse with their wives.

The cooking takes place in a shelter of palm leaves made in the interior of the forest about half a day's march from home. At a short distance from this shelter, nearer to the home, there is another shelter. The latter may be visited by other men and even boys who help in the work by carrying pots and fuel, and especially by bringing

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

the enormous quantity of material of all sorts of lianas, roots, fruits, and rinds from which the poison is prepared. Into the second shelter where the cooking takes place, only the two poison cooks may enter. Women again are strictly forbidden to come near either of the shelters and must keep away from the work as much as possible.

Four large new clay vessels, like those used for brewing manioc-beer, are necessary for the boiling. These are brought to the second shelter by the poison cooks, who also carry thither the different plants required, and these are already partly prepared.

The cooking requires a period of eight days in all. The first two days are for the preparation of the material, since, as we have seen, the numerous plants, roots, and lianas have first to be cleaned, peeled off, mashed, and so forth. This rough work is mostly done in the first shelter and, as already mentioned, even boys may assist at it.

The cooking can only take place at night, and the fuel used must consist solely of the hard wood of the chonta palm; only thus, it is believed, will the poison be effective. Towards the night of the second day the fires are kindled, the boiling begins and continues the whole night until dawn. Nothing further is done during that day, but on the following night the cooking is continued. After the poison has thus boiled for two successive nights, there is an interval of two days and two nights during which it is untouched. Then the cooking begins again and continues for two successive nights, when the cooking is finished and the poison is ready.

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

During the whole of the boiling only a small fire is kept burning; the process must be slow and gradual. When different poisons are boiled together in the big pot, the boiling is done over a slow fire until part of [151] the liquid evaporates and it becomes as thick as syrup or honey. The colour of the arrow-poison when boiled is dark brown.

All this time the cooks remain in the forest. They have to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only two roasted green plantains a day without salt; they are also allowed to drink manioc-beer. This food, however, must be consumed in the first shelter whither it is brought by a man; in the shelter where the cooking is done they may not eat or drink anything. If they do not fast strictly, and particularly if they eat salt or sweet things, the poison will be useless. During the work the cooks chant conjurations and incantation formulae by which the demons (wakani) of the poisonous plants are summoned and favourably influenced. Besides this, they may speak only when absolutely necessary and then they must talk in a subdued voice.

Those days when the cooks are not engaged in boiling the poison, they are busy carving the arrows for which the poison is to be used.

They are strictly forbidden to have intercourse with women, and the latter, as pointed out before, are not allowed even to come near the place where the important ceremony is being performed. If a woman does come near, the poison will be completely spoiled, and if the woman has a sucking babe at home, the babe will die. The poison cooks retire to the forest partly in order to be safe from the curiosity of the women.

The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours.

1: Karsten--149-152
116, 278, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-5

As soon as the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested upon a frog, which is shot with a poisoned arrow. If the frog soon dies, this is a proof that the poison is strong, since frogs are tenacious of life.

Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate, regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows.

Only edible animals can be brought down with poisoned arrows. If some 'demoniacal' or otherwise useless animal, bird, or reptile--for instance a vulture of a snake--is shot with it, the poison will completely lose its efficacy and it will be impossible to bring down any game with it.

The poison works only when it enters the blood where it brings about an instant coagulation and a paralysis of the muscles, and the Indians realize that--just as happens with the venom of snakes--it spreads rapidly round the whole body through the circulation of the blood. If the poison does not penetrate into the blood it does not cause death, at any rate not so quickly; it is even possible to swallow an insignificant quantity of it without risk, if only the person doing it has no wound in his mouth or in the intestines. When the Canelos Indian buys poison and wants to try whether it is active and strong, he takes a little of it on his tongue, to form an opinion as to its quality from its taste. (1)"

---

"1. The sample of the arrow-poison of the Canelos Indians which I brought to the Gothenburg museum has recently been physiologically examined by Professor C. G. Santesson in Stockholm. See his 'Pfeilgiftstudien. Eine Kurareprobe aus Ecuador' in *Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie*, 1934. Band LXVIII. --The great number of different plants used by the Canelos Indians in the preparation of the arrow-poison, of which at any rate the majority are poisonous, clearly stamps as erroneous the opinion held by many toxicologists, that the alcaloid existing in the *Strychnos* species is the only really effective ingredient in the arrow-poison. See my articles 'Notes on South American Arrow-poison' in *Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Comment. Human. litt.* VI. 4. 1933, and 'Addenda to my Notes on South America Arrow-poison' *Ibid. Comment. Hum. Litt.* VI. 7. 1934, the latter article being a reply to Santesson's article 'Bemerkung über südamerikanisches Pfeilgift', *Ibid.* VI. 5."

1: Karsten--153-155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros on the middle Pastaza and those living on the upper Morona also gave me some information about their arrow-poison.

The lianas and shrubs used by them are the following, which I give under their Jibaro names.

1. Yarrier, one of the biggest lianas of the virgin forest (probably identical with the tarapútu cara of the Canelos Indians). A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off with a knife and boiled in a pot with other poisonous ingredients.

2. Yariráhua; 3. Tsaueimera; 4. Papúra; 5. Nupáma; 6. Machápi; are all thick lianas of about the same size as the Yarrier just mentioned. They are all prepared in the same way, a quantity of the bark being scraped off and boiled with the poisonous ingredients obtained from the other plants.

7. Páingis is a smaller liana about 2 to 3 cm. in diameter. It is prepared in the same way as the other lianas.

8. Eimera is a small wild shrub. The Jibaros use the root of it, scraping off some of the rind which covers it, and then preparing it in the same way as the rinds obtained from other plants.

9. Yeistseása (seása = 'poison') is another small shrub with poisonous properties. A quantity of the rind is detached from the stem and beaten with stones. The juice is thus pressed out and then boiled.

10. *Tachíra* is likewise a shrub. The rind is scraped from the stem and boiled with the rest of the poisons.

These are the ten plants used by the Jibaros of the Pastaza in preparing the arrow-poison. I have no doubt that some of them are identical with the lianas and shrubs used for the same purpose by the Canelos Indians, and one or more of them are probably *Strychnos* species. Still it is remarkable how differently composed the 'curare' poisons of these two neighbouring tribes are. The Canelos Indians mix a good many more vegetable ingredients in their arrow-poison than do the Achuares and on the whole seem to prepare it with greater care. However this may be, the poison of the Achuares also had the reputation of being strong and active, and the Canelos Indians not only bought blowguns from their savage neighbours but also appreciated their poison. It is evident that many of the plants used for the purpose by the Canelos Indians do not grow at all in the country of the Achuares, and vice versa. Even within a comparatively limited area, like Eastern Ecuador, the plant world varies to a certain extent, so it is natural that the arrow-poisons also vary. [154]

The method of preparation employed by the Achuares differs to a certain extent from that customary among the Canelos Indians; the latter always prepare the poison in the forest, but the cooking only takes one day. As the liquid gradually evaporates, the solid parts are removed, and the residue is boiled further on a slow fire until only a small but concentrated and thick quantity is left. For the rest, many of the details are the same as we have just learned with reference to the Canelos Indians. The pot used for the cooking must be quite new and not previously used for any other purpose. The fuel used for the fire must be chonta wood. The cook prepares himself for the work by fasting for one day; he eats only a few plantains boiled in water and mashed, and takes tobacco water in repeated doses. He has also to observe sexual abstinence. The actual day that he stays in the forest cooking the poison he eats nothing at all. No woman is allowed to come near the shelter where the poison is cooked. If a woman comes there, she exposes herself to supernatural dangers and the poison will be entirely spoiled. The same would happen if the cook ate salt or sweet things, or if such things came into contact with the pot in which the poison is boiled.

The Jibaros have the same ideas as the Canelos Indians regarding the nature of the poisonous plants and the prepared poison: in each plant there is a spirit or soul (wakáni) which effects its growth and which, at the cooking of the poisons, is influenced and developed. The demon, being coerced and constrained by the conjurations of the medicine-man, is very angry and tries to revenge himself on his tormentor. This anger finds expression in the poisonous vapours rising from the pot. The fasting to which the cook submits, as well as certain other precautionary measures, aim at protecting him from the evil demon. Thus for instance, before he starts cooking, he

1: Karsten--153-155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 278 (1928-29)

divides his hair into the three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros and are believed to enhance a man's power of resisting evil spirits. For the same reason he paints himself red in the face with roucou, and stops his nostrils with cotton so as to avoid inhaling the noxious vapours. When the cook returns home in the evening he is still haunted by the demon, who sucks him on the shoulders the breast, and the back, and torments him at night with unpleasant dreams and hallucinations. Even on the following day, therefore, he is obliged to diet and to observe other rules of abstinence. He takes tobacco water repeatedly and eats only plantains boiled in water and mashed, just as on the previous two days. When he eats, he does not touch the plantains with his fingers, but avails [155] himself of a small wooden stick so as not to defile the food and expose himself to danger. He also avoids sleeping with his wife and passes the first night in the men's department, tangámasha.

When the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested on a tucan. A small boy is sent out into the forest and imitates the scream of a tucan wounded to death by an arrow. In this way, the Indians believe, the poison will be effective and strong enough to kill tucans and other birds of the forest."

1: Karsten--155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 754 (1928-29)

"Certain demoniacal animals and birds, like snakes, the nose-bear, vultures, owls, and hawks, are never shot with poisoned arrows. The poison in that case would entirely lose its efficacy and it would become impossible to bring down any edible animals and birds with it. The animals mentioned, it should be understood, are particularly detested by the Jibaros because they believe that the witch-doctors are in the habit of sending off their magic arrows by these very animals. This superstition of the Jibaros will be further dealt with in the chapters on their religion.

Nor are poisoned arrows nowadays used by the Indians in war. If a human being is killed with a poisoned arrow, that poison can no longer be used for hunting animals that are eaten. An animal killed with such poison would assume the same taste as human flesh, and no Jibaro Indian would dare to touch it."

1: Karsten--155-156 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"If the arrow-poison is kept for a long time and is exposed to humidity--which is always more or less the case in a tropical climate--it easily loses its original efficacy and may even become entirely useless. The Indians, however, know how to improve such poison by reboiling it and mixing with it certain new ingredients. Even those Jibaro Indians--for instance the tribes of the Upano--who do not prepare their arrow-poison themselves but buy it from other tribes, know how to make an old and useless poison efficacious again. Among the Jibaros of the Upano the following two ingredients are used for the purpose:--

1. Seása kunápi. Kunápi (in Quichua tsigta), a shrub of which there are various species. Some of them are only slightly poisonous and are used by the Indians as ordinary medicines. A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, the decoction being taken as a remedy for catarrh, head-ache, and other ailments. The species which the Jibaros call seása kunápi is more poisonous than the others and is exclusively used for improving the arrow-poison. The rind of the shrub is boiled and the poisonous liquid extracted, just as is customary in regard to other plants used in the preparation of the poison. [156]

2. Ambi (in Quichua pucúna útchu), Indian pepper (Capsicum) of the particularly strong and poisonous variety which the Canelos Indians also use as an ingredient for the arrow-poison.

1: Karsten--155-156 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 278 (1928-29)

The old, dry arrow-poison is powdered or crushed into small pieces and boiled with the new ingredients in a small pot for a whole day, so that they form a chemical compound, which is then allowed to congeal and thicken. The poison cook has to fast and observe the same precautionary rules as when new arrow-poison is made. After the poison is ready it must stand for some days in order to get thicker and 'ripen', and during these days the cook has to continue observing certain precautionary rules. He does not leave the house, but remains in his bed (peáka) in the men's quarter warming his legs over the fire, just as the Jibaros are wont to do when they are in a state of ceremonial uncleanness. His food consists, as usual, of boiled and mashed green plantains, and when he eats he uses a small stick instead of his fingers. If he does not strictly fast and if he is not cautious in other respects, the new ingredients will not mix properly with the old ones and the poison will fail to improve."

1: Karsten--156-157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 411 (1928-29)

"Some words may be added as to the arrows used for the poison and the blowgun with which they are shot off. The arrows bear no similarity to the ordinary long arrows known from most South American tribes and let off with a bow, a type of weapon entirely unknown to the Jibaros. The arrow or dart is a long thin stick carved out of the hard wood of the chonta palm and somewhat resembling a knitting-needle.

The blowgun, called pucúna by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians and úmi by the Jibaros, is about 2 1/2 to 3 metres in length and round like a musket-barrel, although a little thicker. Its making requires great skill and, as I have stated before, it is only manufactured by a few Jibaro tribes, the rest obtaining it by exchange. The Canelos Indians, although they make the poison themselves, do not make the blowguns, but buy them either from the Achuares on the Pastaza or from the Jibaro tribe living on the Arapicos. The blowgun is made of the hard chonta wood, and usually of that particularly strong chonta cultivated by the Indians --the Guilielma species--which also bears the much appreciated contaruru fruit. The blowgun consists of two halves, which are carved separately and then joined together by strips of bast. Lastly the tube is covered with a layer of black wax (sekáta) obtained from wild bees, and carefully polished with so much art and skill that it would be impossible for an uninitiated person to know that it consists of two different pieces. The inner channel through which the dart runs, is 8 to 10 mm. [157] in diameter. This bore is formed by each half being rubbed with a

1: Karsten--156-157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 411 (1928-29)

long and perfectly even chonta stick of the same size as the channel desired. The end from which the dart is blown out is somewhat thicker than the opposite end and has a mouth-piece about 4 cm. long, made of the leg-bone of the jaguar or the deer; any other animal's bone would not do. The jaguar and the deer are to the Jibaros 'demoniacal' animals and their bones are supposed to have some mysterious 'poison' properties. Into this mouth-piece the poisoned dart is placed when the Indian wants to blow it out. About 20 cm. from this mouth-piece there is a small knob of black wax, which serves as a sight when the Indian shoots.

The making of a blowgun is said to require about two months and the work can only be done gradually. The chonta wood must be perfectly dry before the channel can be bored, otherwise there is always a danger of the wooden pieces warping, in which case the channel may become crooked and the whole weapon quite useless. Great care is considered particularly necessary when the channel is bored in the 'gun', which takes eight to ten days. It is especially prescribed that during these days the maker of the blowgun must not cohabit with his wife, lest the channel of the blowgun become crooked.

The dart (tsinsáka) is 25 to 27 cm. long and is carved of the hard and even wood of certain palms. The Jibaros told me five different palms from the wood of which the darts can be carved. The best of these is the ináyu palm. The wood of these palms, and especially of this last, is believed to possess certain 'poison' properties and

1: Karsten--156-157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 411 (1928-29)

therefore to be the proper material for poisoned arrows. The ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) however is rare in the country of the Jibaros proper. On the other hand, it is quite common in the region of Canelos whence the Achuares on the Pastaza, for instance, obtain it by exchange."

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"When the Indian wants to go out hunting he prepares a number of poisoned arrows. The night before starting, their points are smeared with poison to a length of 2 to 3 cm. and the arrows are then stuck into the earth round the fire so that the poison may partly dry. Otherwise much of it would be brushed off when the arrows are placed in the quiver. The opposite end of the arrow is wound round with wild cotton (ceibo) so that, when the arrow is put into the blowgun, it fits the bore tightly and can be blown out with force. The arrows are kept in a quiver about 25 or 26 cm. long consisting of wild bamboo cane and worn hanging on the stomach from a band round the neck. To the lower end of the quiver [158] a round gourd is attached, provided with a small hole. In this gourd the wild cotton needed for the arrows is kept and pulled out through the hole as it is required.

At the upper end of the quiver hangs a small tool which is of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians it consists of the extremely sharp jaws of the fish paña (Serrasalmo), among the Jibaros again of the equally sharp nippers of the fresh water crab uriki. When the Indian wants to shoot an animal or a bird he first makes a cut in the arrow with this sharp instrument at the point where the poison ends, so that it will break with the least effort. Experience, it should be noticed, has taught the Indian that certain animals, especially monkeys, but also the bears, when hit by a poisoned arrow, at once pull it out from the body in which case the poison cannot

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

develop its full efficacy. If, on the other hand, the small operation just mentioned is performed, the arrow at once breaks when the animal tries to extract it, and the poisoned head remains in the body.

With the blowgun the Indians are able to shoot as far as 30 or 40 metres, and in general they display remarkable dexterity with it. The power of resisting the poison is of course different in different animals, and also varies according to the efficaacy [sic] of the poison. Small birds fall at once to the ground in agony, bigger birds generally after a few minutes. Even if the poison does not immediately cause death, yet it brings about a certain paralysis of the muscles and stupefaction, causing the bird to move reluctantly, and if it manages to fly away, it usually does not go far and the Indian, following the direction of its flight, can be sure to catch it in a few moments. Monkeys possess little power of resistance to the arrow-poison and fall to the ground in about five minutes. Bigger animals like the wild hog and the bear cannot be killed with one single arrow, but require several. The bear, for instance, I was told, can only be brought down with some 10 to 30 arrow-shots, according to the action of the poison. The animal is shot after it has taken refuge from the pursuing dogs in a tree. The largest wild animals, like the jaguar and the puma, are seldom hunted with poisoned arrows; to kill them requires a great number of arrows and even then they

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

would be able to retire to the thickets of the forest where they will die only after several hours."

1; Karsten--158-159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 231, 278 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians told me that domestic fowls and swine are immune to their arrow-poison. This statement has been confirmed by a physiological examination of the poison, although the immunity is [159] only relative. (1) The same is probably true of the arrow-poison of the Achuares."

---

"1. See Santesson, Pfeilgiftstudien, p. 213."

1: Karsten--159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 278, 784, 411 (1928-29)

"All Indians seem to observe the rule never to use poisoned arrows against snakes, vultures, and other similar animals, which are considered unfit for food and concerning which they have certain superstitious ideas. The arrow-poison in that case would lose its efficacy entirely. Similarly the idea seems common to all Indians, that the blowgun and poisoned arrows cannot be used in war. The arrow-poison with which a human enemy has been killed, it is believed, can no longer be used to kill an edible animal; in this respect the arrow-poison resembles lances and rifles. If an enemy has once been killed with such a weapon, it can no longer be used in hunting. A wild hog, for instance, if killed with such a lance or rifle, would have the same taste as human flesh and would not be eaten by anybody. The Jibaros therefore exchange the lances they have used in war as soon as possible. The Indians told me that in former times they used their blowguns and poisoned arrows in war, but the same rule was valid in regard to them as to the lances and guns, namely, that afterwards they could only be again used in war, never for killing game, since the same weapon cannot be used for both purposes."

1: Karsten--159
116, 411
-

Jivaro

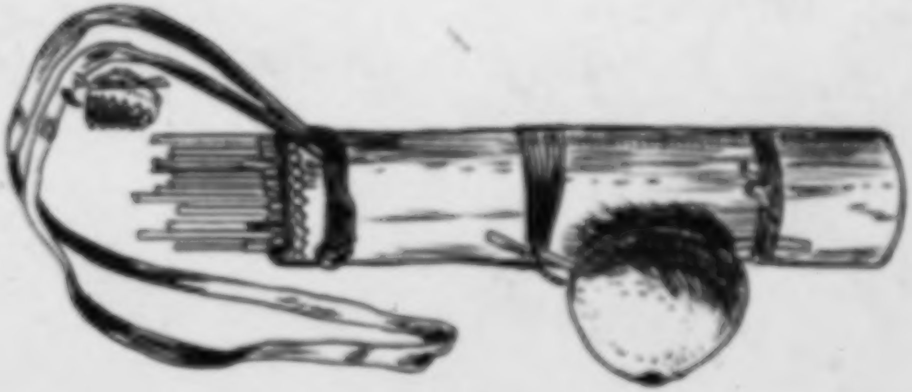


Fig. 4. A quiver for poisoned arrows.

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witchcraft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

---

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224 (1928-29)

"Among the Indians of Ecuador large hunting expeditions are especially undertaken for the great feasts in order to secure a good supply of food; these expeditions last from eight to fifteen days. Among the CANELOS INDIANS the following preparations are made.

Early in the morning of the day when the expedition is to start all hunters assemble in the house of the Indian who makes the feast (called cháyu, 'feaster'). Their wives bring with them the drums which are to be beaten in the house of the 'feaster' at the small drinking-feast that precedes the starting. The hunters, dressed in festival style and each holding his drum, wander in a circle in the middle of the house in slow time, incessantly beating their drums but without chanting. Meanwhile manioc-beer (asua) is being drunk by the hunters and by the other people in the house, the women preparing the drink and serving it to the men. The beer-drinking and the beating of the drums are continued for about one hour. Before leaving the house, the hunters range themselves in a row. An old woman has a gourd ready, containing some mani or earthnuts. Each grain in the gourd is painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). In another small gourd she has prepared some crude roucou with which the hunters' faces are to be painted. The old woman also holds a branch of a certain tree with large soft prickles, which the Indians call chini papaya. (1) Each hunter in turn steps forward to

---

"1. The Canelos Indians call it by this name owing to the similarity of its leaves to the leaves of the cultivated tree Carica papaya."

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224 (1928-29)

the old woman, who paints the whole lower part of his face red with roucou and then slightly strikes him on the head, the shoulders, the arms, and the legs with the prickly branch, at the same time saying to him: sinchita callpángi, 'may you run fast'. The hunter thus treated now starts to run away from the house, all the women throwing after him the red mani grains. Then the next hunter steps forward to the old woman, to be treated in the same way, then the following one, and so forth, until the last of them. After the hunters have left, the women pick up the mani grains and eat them.

The hunters, on leaving the house, have gone down to the river where their canoes have been held ready. Afterwards the women also come down there, each carrying the drum of her husband. The drums must go with the hunters on the expedition, but the women must carry them down to the canoes, just as previously they had carried them to the house of the 'feaster'. [163]

It is considered necessary that the hunters should be painted in the face with roucou before they start on the expedition, otherwise they would not be able to catch any game. Similarly, when the women throw upon them mani grains painted red with roucou, this is done for the same purpose, or more strictly speaking, in order that the hunters shall have good luck in general, and especially that they shall be able to catch female monkeys with young. Young monkeys are much appreciated by the Indians who keep them for the purpose of taming them.

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 224 (1928-29)

While the hunters are away on their expedition, the wife of the 'feaster' takes care not to sweep the house with a broom, but leaves all dirt and waste lying untouched until the hunters return. If she swept the ground and removed the waste, the hunters would be unable to bring home any game.

The Indians on their hunting expeditions travel far away, to uninhabited and often quite unexplored parts, since in the home regions there is little game to be found. Arriving at the district where they propose to hunt they make some provisional shelters whence they undertake smaller expeditions in different directions every day. In the afternoon the hunters return to the shelters with the game killed or the fish caught during the day, and at once prepare and roast it at the fire, preserving it in this form until they arrive home. If the hunters have had good luck, they beat their drums again in the evening and rejoice by drinking manioc-beer.

When the hunters return home from their expedition, they announce their arrival by beating the drums. As soon as the game is brought up, some of the oldest men of the tribe are elected to count it. Each piece of the roasted meat, each bird, each fish caught, is counted by the old men, who form the authorities of the Indians and are called huaráyu. Each of the men elected is also to have a share of the game. The 'feaster' now prepares a big banquet, called camári, to which all are invited. When the guests arrive, they are received in a festive way. A table loaded with game and

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 224 (1928-29)

other kinds of food stands in the background of the house. Close to it one Indian is beating a drum and another playing a flute, while the rest of the men dance slowly to and fro in front of the table. Then they all sit down to eat.

Before the Canelos Indians start on a hunting expedition, they abstain for eight days from eating salt and Indian pepper (_útchu_). If they eat these things, the dogs will suffer and be unable to scent and hunt anything. During these days of preparation the dogs are also kept tied up in order that they may not eat excrements. If they eat excrements they will, [164] according to the idea of the Indians, be incapable of tracking and hunting animals. --During the eight days mentioned the hunters also abstain from cohabiting with their wives. Otherwise they are supposed to become unable to aim at and shoot the animals and birds with gun or blowpipe.

Whether the hunting expedition is undertaken for a feast or not, the Canelos Indian never omits to paint his face red with roucou before starting. The red paint is supposed to attract animals and birds, and thus to give good luck in hunting. For this reason even the dogs used for hunting are painted before leaving, the fell being profusely coated with crude roucou. The Canelos Indian says that if he does not paint himself with roucou before going to hunt, he will be unable to kill any game.

Besides the body-painting with the seeds of the _Bixa orellana_, various other charms

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 224 (1928-29)

are used in hunting by the Indians of Canelos. These charms most commonly consist in small round stones or pebbles, small balls of hair, pieces of wood, etc., found in the stomachs of certain birds or animals. The small stones are generally taken from the stomachs of the birds, especially of the tucan, the paugi, and the wild turkey, which are most appreciated as food and because of their feathers. As soon as the Indian finds such a stone, he washes and dries it carefully and then puts it into a small round gourd which is closed with a tap or a cover and sealed with wax. The Indian only removes this seal and cover when he is to start on a hunting expedition. Then he takes out one of the small stones, and with the powder which has formed itself round it he paints certain ornamental figures on the face, which figures of course are scarcely visible on the skin of the Indian. Then the stone is again put into the gourd, the cover of which is carefully sealed with wax as before. This charm is also taken on the hunting expedition, being kept in the small bag of chambira which the Indian always carries when travelling. He is thus able to renew the facial painting with the small stones whenever he likes. The charms described, which are called misha by the Canelos Indians and yúkha by the Jibaros, are believed to have a wonderful power to attract those very birds from whose bowels the stones have originally been taken. Thus there is a special misha for the tucan, another for the paugi, a third for the wild turkey, and so on, all of which are kept in different small gourds and carried by the Indian hunter when he goes out in the

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 224 (1928-29)

forest.

Again, the misha of certain big animals generally consist of other small objects. Thus in the stomach of the tapir (sacha huagra) small balls [165] of hair are frequently found, probably owing to the habit of these animals of licking the sweat off each other's skin and swallowing the hairs. When the Canelos Indian goes out to hunt the tapir, he rubs the fell of the dogs with such a ball of hair. The dogs' noses are by this means supposed to become particularly keen in tracing the tapir.

Again, in the bowels of the deer the Indians say they sometimes find certain small round wooden pins the existence of which they cannot explain in a natural way. These pins form the misha for attracting and killing the deer. Consequently they are kept with the same care as other similar charms, and when the Indian wants to hunt the deer he scrapes, with a knife, a little powder from each pin and puts it into the food given to the dogs before starting. The charm will attract the animal, and the dogs will have ability and strength to trace and pursue it.

The misha for attracting certain birds and animals may also consist in a small parasite, the garapata or tick, living on these birds or animals. This small insect is said to be especially found in the down under the wings of the tucan, a bird much hunted by the Indians both on account of its flesh and its brilliant feathers. The tick living on the

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 224 (1928-29)

tucan is, however, said to be very difficult to catch. As soon as the bird, killed by the shot or the poisoned arrow, falls to the ground, the parasite quits the body of the bird and disappears. Sometimes, however, it happens that a wounded tucan, when it falls down from the tree, still keeps the little insect, and the experienced Indian hunter, who quickly seizes the bird and knows where to seek the tick, is able to catch it. He immediately shuts it up in a small gourd in the same manner as is done with other kinds of *misha*. When the hunter goes out in the forest to shoot a tucan, he carries this charm, and whilst wandering about seeking the bird he shakes the gourd containing the tick in the belief that it will attract the bird. The tick is therefore called *aicha mama*, 'the mother of the game'.

The *aicha mama* which is a tick is also said to be found in the coats of certain quadrupeds, like the wild hog (*huangána*), and is used in the same way for hunting that animal.

The Canelos Indians appreciate their *misha* extremely, considering their whole luck in hunting bound up in a mysterious way with these small objects. An Indian who sells or gives away his *misha* thereby not only gives away the power of killing game with this particular charm, but his whole luck in hunting in general. He will not be able to kill any more birds or animals with gun or with poisoned arrows. It is, therefore, very difficult to induce an Indian to sell these charms, and a price [166] must always be paid

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 224 (1928-29)

for them which stands in no reasonable proportion to their real value.

Another charm for attracting and killing the tucan is a small plant which is called by some Canelos Indians sicuánga ahuiringri, by others sinsimbu. The juice contained in this plant is pressed out with the fingers and taken as a 'medicine' by the Indian hunter eight days before he starts hunting. It is supposed to attract the tucan and to make it tame, so that it can be easily shot. During the following eight days, or until the Indian starts, he has to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only boiled plantain. If he does not fast, the plant sicuanga ahuiringri or sinsimbu will fail to attract the bird.

There is a fowl frequently hunted by the Indians, called by its Spanish name mondete by the Canelos Indians, and ayáchu by the Jibaros. When the Indians have killed and eaten this bird, they take care not to let the dogs eat its bones, since otherwise the dogs will deteriorate and become unable to trace the bird. This bird generally lives on the low bushy banks of the river near the forest, and when it is disturbed by the dogs it flies up into a tree where it can be easily shot. But if the dogs have previously eaten the bones of the bird, then the bird, when scared by the dogs, flies up into a tree, but is immediately drawn again to the ground, from where it again flies up into a tree, again falls to the ground, and so on, so that the hunter gets no opportunity to shoot it. This peculiar behaviour of the bird is due to the dogs having previously eaten its bones.

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 224 (1928-29)

The Canelos Indians have the same superstition in regard to the great macaw, guacamayo. The dogs are therefore never allowed to eat the bones of this bird.

When the Jibaros and Canelos Indians go out hunting on hills, especially on some they have never visited before, they take care not to speak loudly but keep strict silence. Nor do they use their firearms on those hills but merely their blow guns with which they can kill the animals without making any noise. If they speak loudly or shoot with a gun, the spirit of the hill will be angry and immediately send a heavy rain, the hunters being then unable to kill any game. The hills and high mountains, according to the ideas of the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, are inhabited by particularly malicious spirits (supai, iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers or medicine-men.

A good Indian hunter is supposed to be able to transfer his skill in shooting birds and animals with the blowgun to another younger Indian by taking some juice of tobacco into his mouth and blowing it directly [167] into the nose of the other Indian. This custom is due to the superstitious ideas the Indians have about tobacco in general, which is one of their great 'medicines'.

When a young Indian feels that his sight is not strong enough to aim at the birds and animals with the blowgun, he goes to the oldest man of the family, or to a medicine-man, tells him what is the matter with him, and asks for a remedy. The old man then generally takes the fruit of utchu or Indian pepper, parts the pod, takes out some of the

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 224 (1928-29)

seeds and puts them straight into the eyes of the younger Indian, at the same time whistling and chanting a conjuration. This operation, owing to the strong properties of the pepper, at first makes the young man almost blind, but afterwards, it is supposed, he will become extremely keen sighted in aiming and shooting with the blowgun.

When a son is born among the Canelos Indians, the father has to fast for eight days and is not allowed to go out hunting in the forest or to do any work. When the eight days have elapsed and the father goes out hunting for the first time, he takes some ceibo (wild cotton), which he uses to fit the arrow into the blowgun when he shoots, makes a small ball of it and throws it upon his new-born son. This is supposed to make the child a very good hunter in the future."

1: Karsten--167-169  (1916-18) 1935  Jivaro-1
116, 224  (1928-29)

"...the wild JIBAROS also use those charms for hunting which consist of small stones and other objects found in the stomachs of animals and birds, calling them yúkka. The Jibaros however, do not seem to attribute the same extraordinary importance to these charms as the Canelos Indians. Likewise, although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game. On the other hand, all Indians are imbued with the idea that the bones, and especially the skulls, of animals killed in hunting have the power of attracting the same species of animals. This is the reason why almost in every Jibaro hut one can find a number of skulls and other bones of animals killed in hunting during recent months and even years. The different skulls are connected with each other by a string and the whole row is hung from the ceiling, [168] where the bones are thus kept after being carefully freed from flesh and washed. The feathers and heads or beaks of birds are kept in the same way and for the same purpose. These objects not only serve as charms for continued good luck in hunting, but at the same time are trophies which fill the Indian with pride and show the visitors what a skilled hunter the head of the house is.

Sometimes, when the Jibaro Indian is out hunting and has killed for instance a monkey and eaten it in the forest, he afterwards makes the skull of the animal clean

1: Karsten--167-169 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224 (1928-29)

and suspends it, tied to a vine, between two trees in the neighbourhood of the place where he shot it. The skull is then supposed to draw other monkeys to the same place.

All Indians, when hunting, make great use of the method of imitating the sounds of the birds and animals they are seeking in order to attract them, and they generally do it with unrivalled skill. They especially imitate the cries of different birds, but also the sounds of various quadrupeds, the grunt of the hog, the whistling of the tapir, the peiping of the small rodent aguti, etc. This of course is really a good way of decoying the game, but to the mind of the Indian the method is also mixed with superstition: in his religion he imitates the spirits in the same way when he wants to summon them.

To catch certain birds and small animals the Jibaros use a kind of trap, just as in their wars they make use of other traps to defend themselves against their enemies. There are two different small traps which play a part in the hunting of these Indians. The one is called timbya: generally speaking it consists of two sticks or tree branches, one larger lying on the ground and often covered with dry leaves, the other smaller lying on the first one when the trap is closed. When the trap is open, one end of the thinner stick is bent upwards, so as to form an angle of about 30 degrees ground, with the [sic] and is connected with the lower stick by means of certain strings. The trap is so constructed, that when the bird or the animal steps upon the stick lying on the

1: Karsten--167-169 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 224 (1928-29)

ground, the upper stick falls upon it with force, crushing it or keeping it fixed. The mechanism by which the upper stick is kept bent and released is rather complicated and cannot be accurately described in words. This trap is placed in the forest on the narrow path frequented by pigeons, partridges, and certain parrots, or small animals like the agouti and the squirrel. Sometimes it is also placed in the house with a view to catching rats and frogs coming in at night.

The other trap is called kuáka. It consists essentially of a small [169] flexible branch of a tree fixed in the ground in a vertical position. To the top of this stick a thin liana or a chambira string is attached, the end of which forms a snare. In order to make the trap ready to operate, the stick is bent down against the earth and in a certain simple but ingenious way fastened to another small stick fixed in the ground. The latter, again, is connected with a thin stick lying on the ground, upon which the end of the string, forming a snare, is laid. When the bird steps upon this stick on the spot where the snare is laid, the branch bent against the earth is released and flies up, the bird being thereby caught in the snare by the legs and lifted in the air. Pigeons and partridges are the birds most frequently caught with this trap."

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

"Of greater importance to the Jibaro Indians for hunting than all charms and traps are, however, their dogs, which, as pointed out before, are bred with extraordinary care. The 'feast of the dogs', Yawápani, is one of the five great feasts of the Jibaros, and takes place when the training of a young dog is completed and it is supposed to be able to track and hunt game. Just as the Jibaro, when he is about to marry, makes a special feast for his young wife to impart to her strength and ability for agriculture and other work incumbent upon a housewife, [170] so he makes a feast for his young dog when it is full-grown, in order to give it a keen nose for tracking game and strength and endurance for pursuing it.

When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch. As soon as the little dog has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals[sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die. The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die.

When the dog is full-grown and supposed to be able to track and hunt game, the feast Yawápani takes place. When this feast is made on a large scale, it is almost as grand as the head-feast or the feast of the women. Even the ceremonial drinking of natéma formerly took place at the Yawápani, just as it still forms a ceremony at some of the great feasts. It is preceded by the usual preparations, the planting of manioc and plantain, the brewing of a large quantity of manioc-beer, the making of new clay vessels, and so on. The feast proper lasts three days, and the ceremonies, as is the case at all feasts, are led by an old man or priest, called whuéa. [171]

Three days previous to the feast proper a conjuration takes place consisting of a special dance, called Wuimchi, at which different birds and animals, which the Jibaros most generally hunt, are enumerated. The dance begins when darkness sets in and is continued the whole night, until dawn. It is performed by young men, invited to the feast, who move round one of the pillars in the middle of the house holding each other by the hand. The conjurers, whilst thus moving round, again and again mention certain birds, valued by the Jibaros, like the tucan (tsukánga), the paugi (máshu), the wild turkey (kúyu), and the parrot (kávashu), and of animals especially the wild hog (pákki) and different kinds of monkeys, which are much hunted by the Indians on account of their flesh, their teeth, which are strung into necklaces, and their skin, which is used for drums and for making small bags which the Jibaros carry when travelling.

The object of this conjuration, which also takes place at the victory feast and the feast of the women, is of course to give the 'feaster' good luck in hunting with the new dog.

During the feast proper the principal ceremony consists in a magical drink being repeatedly given the dog. This drink is prepared from a small plant, specially cultivated for this purpose by the Jibaros, which is called kungúna. The leaves of the plant are boiled together with the leaves of the guayusa (Ilex), a tree which plays an important part in certain magical rites of the Indians. It is the priest, whuéa, who has to give this medicine to the dog. For this purpose he first fills his mouth with tobacco smoke and blows it upon the dog, then he opens its mouth and puts a little of the liquid into it, at the same time chanting an incantation or conjuration adapted for the occasion. This ceremony is repeated several times in the course of one or two days of the feast. Again, each night from about 6 o'clock till dawn, a general dance, called Ihiámbrama, is performed, which takes place at all feasts of the Jibaros. Both the men and the women take part in this dance wearing the usual festal ornaments, moving in a ring in the middle of the house and chanting incantations. On the third and last day of the feast the priest washes the eyes of the dog with a special solution, prepared by soaking a leaf, called shishíngya, in water. Other Jibaros, again, make a certain poisonous ant bite the dog in the eyes. By this procedure the dog is supposed to get strong eyes and a good nose for tracking the game. This done, the priest initiates the mistress of the house into her coming duties with regard to the dog, since she has to take care of the hunting dogs and to feed them. The priest [172] first gives the woman tobacco juice to drink, then grasps her by the right hand, makes her take a piece of boiled maniac from a gourd held ready and give it to the dog, whereupon he makes her caress its back with her hand. Finally the priest paints the dog with genipa, as is done with men and women at all great feasts, applying the black dye to the fell of the animal from the nose downwards along the stomach. This ceremony brings the feast of the dogs to an end.

This feast, however, is not always celebrated on such a large scale, nor is it exclusively made for young dogs which are to be initiated for hunting. When an old dog is growing too lazy to pursue game and losing the power to track it, is [sic] owner may improvise a small feast for it, at which he himself gives the dog the medicine prepared from the kungúna and the guayusa leaves, accompanying the ceremony with the usual incantations and conjurations. He may give the dog kungúna repeatedly during the day, whereupon he takes it out in the forest to see whether it has regained its power. If the result is not satisfactory, he may give it the same medicine the next day, and so on, until it takes effect and the dog recovers its power.

The drink prepared from the kungúna, owing to some extraordinary properties ascribed to this plant, is supposed to exert a mysterious, favourable influence upon the dog, making it strong and vigorous to pursue game. The kungúna thus plays much the same part at the 'feast of the dogs' as tobacco plays at other great feasts of the Jibaros. The idea that underlies all feasts of these Indians is that the magic medicine then taken will fill the person in question with supernatural power, which is automatically transferred to every sphere of his life. It is the same with the feast Yawápani. The mysterious power which is imparted to the dog will, as it were mechanically, display itself in the good luck which ever afterwards follows its master in hunting: in his house there will thenceforward be no lack of game. At least this will infallibly be the case if the ceremonies have been duly performed and the owner of the dog as well as his wife have, during the time of preparation, fasted in the way prescribed by custom. Should the result of the feast be unsatisfactory and the dog prove of little use for hunting, their explanation is that its masters have infringed the rules of diet, or else committed some fault in celebrating the feast.

As already mentioned, it is the duty of the housewife to feed and take care of the dogs. Just as the married Jibaro woman is believed to have a mysterious influence upon the fields which she cultivates, so she is [173] supposed to exert a similar influence upon the hunting dogs confided to her care. The competence of the dogs and the plentifulness of game in the house thus correspond to the ability of its mistress. Hence, when at the 'tobacco feast of the women' (noa tsángu) the newly married Jibaro woman is initiated for her coming obligations as a housewife, mention is made not only of the fields and of different domestic plants, the swine, and chicken, but also of the dogs, and special incantations are addressed to the Earth-mother Nungüi on behalf of these domestic animals.

After the feast Yawápani the dog is taken out in the forest together with other older dogs to hunt, the wild hog being the game then especially sought. As soon as a hog or some other animal has been killed with the aid of the dogs, the back of the newly-initiated dog is thickly coated with its blood. By this procedure it is supposed to become keen in hunting that animal.

The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house.

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (túnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them. --"

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

1: Karsten--175-177 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226 (1928-29)

"The customs of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians in regard to fishing can be more briefly described. Generally speaking, there are five methods of catching fish which are practised by all the tribes: catching it direct with the hands in diving; with hook and line; with harpoons; with nets; and with poison.

In the small affluents of the bigger rivers, with a stony bottom, there lives a kind of small fish which the Indians are in the habit of catching simply with the hands. Moving about in his canoe and watching the bottom through the clear water, the Indian with his keen sight and experience is able to perceive the fish hiding the main part of its body under a stone. He immediately throws himself into the water, removes the stone with his hands, and catches the fish, which he kills by a bite in the neck. The Canelos Indians and the Jibaros usually have recourse to this mode of fishing when they are travelling or when they want some fish quickly. This kind of fish, which is called shácma by the Jibaros, is eaten by these Indians especially on occasions when they are bound to observe ceremonial fasting.

Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish.

Harpooning is an ancient and very common Indian method of catching large fish. The

1: Karsten--175-177 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 226 (1928-29)

Napo and the Canelos Indians use for this purpose lances about four metres long, made of the hard wood of the chonta palm. The harpoon itself consists of a barbed iron head fixed to a piece of wood, which is holed so that the shaft can be loosely inserted into it. One end of a long string or line is fixed to this head, the other [176] end of it being attached to the shaft. The struggle of the fish, when hit by the harpoon, immediately causes the head to be detached from the shaft, and the latter floats on the water, but remains connected with the fish by the line, thus serving as a buoy to mark the position of the fish. The fish is then gradually tired out and drawn nearer to the harpooner who is then able to kill it. This is especially the method of catching the *paichi* (*Arapaima gigas*), an enormously large fish living in the great rivers and lagoons of Amazonia, as well as the somewhat smaller sheat-fish, called *sungarápu* by the Quichua-speaking Indians and *tungá* by the *Jibaros*. --The great water boa or anaconda--when the Indians dare to attack it at all--is caught and killed in the same way.

The lance must necessarily be of chonta wood, not only because it is very hard, but also because the chonta palm is to the Indians a demoniacal tree owing to its large thorns. A harpoon made of this wood is therefore supposed to hit and kill the fish better than one made of any other wood.

Before iron harpoons were introduced among the Indians, they used harpoons or

• 1: Karsten--175-177 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 226 (1928-29)

lances wholly made of chonta, the end of the lance being pointed and provided with barbs. Smaller harpoons of this kinds [sic] are still used at least by the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, who make them of a kind of wild cane or bamboo called *shingyána*. The original knife of the Indians, which is still used on certain ceremonial occasions, was made of the same kind of cane.

Before the Canelos Indian goes out to harpoon the *paichi* or the *sungarápu*, he ties round the wrist of his right hand the rind of a certain tree which these Indians call *nina cara cáspi* ('the fire rind tree"). This rind is believed to make the arm very strong and steady to point and throw the harpoon at the fish.

Net-fishing is also commonly practised by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The nets are always spun of the strong fibres of the chambira palm. There are, two ways of using these fibres; sometimes they are used in their natural state, directly taken from the chambira leaves and dried. Of these crude fibres the Indians also make the large bags (*shigra*) in which they carry their clothes when travelling. For making nets, on the other hand, the string is prepared in a special way. The chambira leaves are first boiled for many hours, so that the fibres dissolve and, pulled with the fingers, produce a soft flax-like pulp, which is spun in the ordinary way into a fine but exceedingly strong thread. It is from this thread that the nets are made. The nets have much the same [177] shape as those used by the whites, but are generally smaller, at least among the *Jibaros*. These Indians, living as they always do on the banks of small rivulets or affluents of the bigger rivers, mostly catch with their nets (called nekka) only small sardine-like fish. The Canelos Indians, who use their nets (lica) in the big rivers Bobonaza and Pastaza, make them somewhat larger, several metres in length. Along the lower edge of the net small round stones are attached so as to keep it down in the water. To the upper edge are tied pieces of a light kind of wood, called balsa, which serve as floats.

The Indian uses his net in different ways. Sometimes he closes the mouth of a small rivulet or affluent with it, leaving it suspended there for some hours or a whole night, in order to catch the fish entering the main river. His favourite method of using the net, however, is by throwing it. The Indian, having the net folded in his hand, is able to throw it upon the water like a lasso in such a way that by a single cast it becomes extended almost to its whole length. Thus he surprises and catches the fish gathered on a certain spot, which he recognises from certain movements on the surface of the water. The bocachico (called challua in Quichua) is the fish most frequently caught in this way. This fish is in the habit of gathering in great numbers especially on the spot where a small river empties itself into a larger, or close to the flat banks of the rivers. The Indian then approaches with great caution in his canoe or wading in the water, and throws his net in such a way, that it either falls directly upon the fish if the ground is

1: Karsten--175-177 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 226 (1928-29)

flat, or remains floating above them if the water is somewhat deeper, thus barring the way for the escaping fish and catching them.

Frequently when the Indians, travelling in a canoe, come to a spot in the river where many fish are evidently collected, and where the water is not so deep that it is necessary to swim, they use their nets as in trawling. The Indians jump into the water extending the net across it. It is held by three men, one at each end, and one in the middle. They then pass the net slowly down the river trying to catch the fish going up against the stream. As soon as the Indians feel that a fish is caught in the net, they at once loosen it and kill it by biting it in the neck, and throw it into the canoe following them."

1: Karsten--177-178 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226, 278 (1928-29)

"The last and most interesting method used by the Indians in fishing is by poisoning the water in the river. The poison most commonly used for this purpose is the one known under its Spanish name *barbasco*, a name also used by the Quichua-speaking Indians in Eastern Ecuador. [178] Under this name, however, various poisonous plants are comprehended. The plant most commonly used is probably *Cracca toxicaria*, which is cultivated both by the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The same plant, as we have seen, is used at the preparation of the arrow-poison. The root of the bush is the part used. Several roots are first crushed with a club in a hole made for the purpose in the ground, to free the poisonous juice they contain. Then they are put into one or several baskets woven of forest vines, of the kind used by all Indians.

There is also a wild varvasco plant which has the form of a vine. For the purpose of extracting the poison the vine itself is crushed and the juice is pressed out, just as is done with the roots of the cultivated barbasco plant. The scientific name of this vine is unknown.

The savage Jibaros, however, have two fish poisons more, of which the one is called *massu* (probably *Paulinia* or *Sejania* species, of the family *Sapindaceae*). The leaves and the stem of this plant are the parts used; they are crushed with clubs in a hole in the ground, the mass is soaked in some water and the poisonous liquid used in the same way as the ordinary varvasco poison. The other fish poison is by the Jibaros called

1: Karsten--177-178 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 226, 278 (1928-29)

payashi (Paulinia pinnata?), of which the root is used in the same way as the root of the varvasco."

1: Karsten--179-180 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226 (1928-29)

"The small river or rivulet, where the Indians propose to fish, has previously been barred with stones and sticks arranged so as to form a kind of fence, the whole thing forming an angle, the point of which is placed in the middle of the river. At this point there is a kind of small platform made of split bamboo placed in an oblique position with the upper side outwards. On this platform, which is called barbacoa, the poisoned fish will appear and be caught, brought there by the stream.

At a little distance above this spot the poison is put into the river, the baskets containing the varvasco roots being repeatedly sunk in the water, again beaten with clubs, again sunk, and so on, until the main part of the poison has run through the holes of the basket into the river. The poison is rapidly spread all over the water with the stream and drops downwards, thus poisoning the whole river at that particular spot. The fish, of whatever kind it may be, have little power of resistance against the varvasco poison, although they are generally not killed but merely stupefied. About a half an hour after the poison has been thrown out all sorts of fish are generally seen floating on the surface of the water, all being brought by the stream towards the barbacoa. The Indians at once start to catch them, some moving about in canoes, others wading in the water, and seizing some of the fishes with the hands, whilst the larger ones are speared. The rest are taken up at the barbacoa.

Sometimes the Indians do not deem it necessary to construct any barbacoa at all,

1: Karsten--179-180 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 226 (1928-29)

but they simply throw the varvasco poison into the river, allowing it to flow down with the current. After a while they go down the river in their canoes, catching the fish which is seen to float on the surface of the water, stupefied and half dead. The Indians told me that the large sheat-fish is almost the only fish that cannot be caught with varvasco poison. It seems to feel instinctively when the water has been poisoned and speadily [sic] gets away down the river so as escape the effects of the poison.

By this method enormous quantities of fish are often caught in a few hours. The Indians have recourse to it especially when they want to provide a large supply of fish for a feast.

The varvasco is also poisonous to man, but does not in any way affect the flesh of the fish killed or stupefied with it.

Fishing with varvasco poison is a genuinely Indian method of fishing on a large scale. The discovery of this poison and the use made of it reveals, in its way, the Indian's wonderful knowledge of pharmacology [180] which also, and still more strikingly, appears in his preparation of the arrow-poison.

The Indians, especially the Jibaros, preferably choose moonlight nights for fishing, experience having taught them that the fish are then more easily caught."

1: Karsten--168
116, 226, 777

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Just as the Indians use misha for hunting, they use such charms also for fishing, consisting of peculiarly shaped stones and other hard objects found in the stomachs of fish caught. A Canelos Indian showed me once such a misha, which he himself had bought at a high price from the Napo Indians. It was a small round coloured stone, in which the water had engraved certain spiral lines and formed in such a way that it was somewhat like a snail. The stone had been swallowed by a bagre and was found in its stomach by the Indians who caught it. The Canelos Indian would not sell the stone to me at any price, believing that it would give him extraordinary luck in fishing the bagre. Such a charm is used by the hook being rubbed with it before it is throw [sic] out in the water. This treatment is believed to draw the fish to the hook.

Charms consisting of the spines and heads of large fishes are also frequently found in the Indian huts together with the skulls and bones of animals killed in hunting. The spines are believed to have the same effect, namely, to attract the fish and to give good luck in fishing."

1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the *Jibaro* tribes it appears that their social organisation is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (*hea*), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
186, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

1: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different *Jibaro* tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

---

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

1: Karsten--185 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 611 (1928-29)

"A consequence of the endogamic rules is that the persons who marry among the Jibaros are generally relatives. As a matter of fact, it was looked upon as the duty of a Jibaro man to marry his daughter to a youth who claimed her by virtue of his relationship. Custom prescribes that a near male relative shall be preferred to a more distant one. A family father is of course anxious to marry his daughter to the young man he likes best and of whose qualities he has a high opinion, and it is natural that for this reason he is not always inclined to give her to one of his nearest relatives. In such cases there may be complaint on the part of the man thus neglected. 'I am your nearest kin', he may say, 'and still you give your daughter to So-and-So who is a more distant relative.' Still there are degrees of kinship within which marriages are forbidden. Cousins on the male side cannot marry; they are looked upon as brother and sister and marriage between them would be regarded as incest. On the other hand, there is no prohibition to marriages between children of a brother and sister or of two sisters. On the contrary, such marriages are looked upon as perfectly natural. Similarly,, although a paternal uncle may never marry his niece, he is not prohibited from marrying his sister's daughter. The Jibaros,...are a strictly paternal people: they reckon descent only in the male line, women being wholly left out of account."

1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 583, 628 (1928-29)

"....capture of women in general, within the sub-tribes, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Jibaro communities. The same may be said of elopements with another man's wife, an unlawful form of marriage which may give rise to lengthy and sanguinary feuds between the families."

1: Karsten--186-187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 595 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are polygamous. The first wives are however in many cases sisters, since a Jibaro readily gives his other daughters to a son-in-law whom he likes. Still it is of comparatively rare occurrence that a Jibaro man has more than two or three wives. Only old chiefs who have taken part in many wars in which they have captured young girls and brought them home may have four or even more wives. It may therefore happen that such old chiefs have wives who are several tens of years younger than themselves. As to the reasons for keeping many wives, I once received the following answer from a Jibaro when I asked him about the matter: 'I have a big house and I want many wives to keep it. One of my wives has to go out to the fields where she works nearly the whole day. In the meantime I want another to take care of the house, of the children, and of the domestic animals, and to serve manioc-beer to guests who arrive. Sometimes someone of my wives is ill or with child and then I want another to perform her work. It is otherwise with us than with white people.' This answer gives us to understand that it is in part purely practical considerations which lead an Indian to keep many wives; they in a way replace female servants which these Indians do not keep. But it cannot be denied that another motive for polygyny is also at work among these Indians, namely, the man's taste for variety. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians--who are however in the main monogamous --more than one man explained to me that he desired a fresh wife simply because the first one had

1: Karsten--186-187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 595 (1928-29)

grown old and he was tired of her. Further, the Jibaro Indian generally wants a large progeny, and when he marries many and young women he has of course hopes of getting many children.

As to the women who are wives of the same man, I never noticed any jealousy or hostility between them; they seem to regard it as a [187] perfectly natural thing that a man shall have various wives, each of whom performs her share of the common work. A Jibaro woman calls each of her co-wives by the name kai, which seems to denote a particular kind of relationship."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 826 (1928-29)

"Levirate prevails among the Jibaros, custom prescribing that a man shall marry the widow of his brother. Only if the husband has left no brother is the woman allowed to marry a man of another family. If the widow unlawfully marries or has sexual intercourse with another, the consequence, according to the belief of the Indians, may be the birth of a deaf and dumb or monstrous child (nētsi, pasúna), and the man who married the woman is likely to die soon afterwards. This is due to the belief that the spirit of the dead husband, who is jealous of the wife he left behind, will not cede her to any other man than his brother, who forms with himself as it were one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. The custom of levirate among the Jibaros is thus due partly to superstitious reasons and partly to the close relationship which is supposed to exist between two brothers.

A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 591, 583 (1928-29)

"It is customary among the Jibaros that after his marriage a man takes up his residence with the parents of his wife. The work he performs for his parents-in-law is at the same time looked upon as a compensation for his wife, since a bride-price is never paid among the Jibaros. The son-in-law as a rule continues living with his wife's parents until one or two children have been born. When the family grows, and especially if the man wants to take one more wife, he moves from his parents-in-law and settles with his family in a new house in the neighbourhood of theirs. However, as I have said, it frequently happens that the second wife is a younger sister of the first one, in which case the man continues to live with his parents-in-law."

1: Karsten--187-190 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 584 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro youth generally selects his future wife while she is still a child, 5 to 10 years old. Child-betrothals even at a still earlier age, or [188] shortly after the girl is born, occur, the matter being arranged between the parents of the girl and the suitor or his parents. This custom has evidently originated in the desire of the young man or his parents to secure a wife for him in time, since there is on the whole a great demand for women in the Jibaro tribe. Such an arrangement of marriage is of course facilitated by the fact that both families are as a rule closely related, and that the suitor has a certain right to claim the girl on account of his relationship. The father of the young man may procure a wife for his son by negotiating with her parents, or the son may himself appear as a suitor. When I visited the victory-feast at Rio Chiguaza, the head of the house, a Jibaro named Shakaëma, told me that he had just procured a wife for his young son, the victor and principal person of the feast. As we shall see it is considered necessary that the victor should be married on account of the important part that his wife plays at the feast. Shakaëma told me that he had taken natéma for the purpose and seen, in the dream produced by the narcotic, the girl who would be the best wife for his son. It is more common, however, that the young man himself appears as a suitor. When visiting an Indian named Angoasha on the Rio Upano I had an opportunity to witness a proposal of marriage. Angoasha was preparing a 'tobacco feast' for one of his married daughters and some of the guests had already

1: Karsten--187-190 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 584 (1928-29)

arrived. Among these was a nephew of Angoasha, a young man, called Huanga. Later on it appeared that Huanga had arrived at Angoasha's house with the intention of courting his daughter, a young girl of 9 or 10 years. The proposal was made early in the morning when Angoasha was sitting at the fire, preparing his tobacco water as usual. A third person sitting by the fire and taking part in the conversation was Angoasha's son-in-law Mucuimbi. Angoasha's first answer seemed to be an absolute refusal. In the morning when I awoke I heard him emphatically repeating again and again the word tsa, tsa, tsa (No!, No!, No!), whereas the two younger men were eagerly speaking, contradicting the old man. Mucuimbi incessantly and with the same emphasis exclaimed: soásta, soásta, soásta (Give her to him! Give her to him!). It soon became clear to me that the old Angoasha was unwilling to marry his daughter to Huanga who, on the other hand, had an ally in Angoasha's son-in-law.

'You are still too young to marry', Angoasha continued, 'how can I know whether you are able to work and to feed your wife? And perhaps you will not stay in my house but leave us with your wife [189] and build another house for your family? I am old and so is my wife. We want a son-in-law who is able to work for us. Can you clear the ground and make plantations? Can you bring down birds and monkeys with your blowgun? Can you catch fish with varvasco poison?

1: Karsten--187-190 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 584 (1928-29)

Now a female voice mingled in the conversation. It was the mother of the girl, who from the women's quarter had listened to the dispute of the men and wished to have a word in the matter. She seemed to take her husband's part.

'You are still a child', she said, 'you are not able to work and to feed a wife. And perhaps you will treat her badly and beat her, or abandon her for the sake of some other woman.'

The conversation, which may be said to be typical, was continued in this way for a couple of hours, until at last Angoasha seemed vanquished. Besides, it seemed to be a point of etiquette that the parents should not, when treating with the suitor, yield at once or appear too anxious to have their daughter married, and their first refusal may in fact have been more apparent than real.

However this may have been, even the mother yielded at last and ended by giving her future son-in-law some well-meant motherly advice.

'Treat your wife well,' she said, 'and take care of her, and don't abandon her for the sake of some other woman. May you help her in her work, may you shoot birds of the forest for her with your blowgun and catch fish for her in the river.'

The person who seemed to have least to say in this arrangement was the young bride herself, as was natural taking into consideration that she was yet a child. Still, both in this and in other cases which came under my notice the girls betrothed appeared to be contented with their lot. Early in the morning the young couple went out to the sand-bank on the river and remained away the whole day. This is a general custom among the Jibaros in similar cases. The fiancé now had to show the practical capability which his desired parents-in-law had questioned. He had to catch small fish with varvasco poison in the rivulet, to collect palm cabbage by felling young tarapoto palms with edible tops, and to show his dexterity in managing the blowgun. Late in the afternoon the young ones returned home, and now the fiancée in her turn had to show her ability to perform the duties of a future family mother. At a special fire in the house she prepared the food brought home, fish, game, and palm cabbage, which she thereupon ate [190] with her young fiancé. She prepared manioc-beer in a dish and brought it to him, and, likewise performing the functions of a hostess, she offered it to arriving guests, like the other women of the house.

The betrothal being thus arranged, the young girl's education for her coming duties can properly begin, and it is supervised by her future husband who continues to stay in the house as a member of the family, working like the sons and the other sons-in-law. When the girl has her first menstruation a new important epoch in her life begins. Certain minor ceremonies, which will be described later on, take place. The most important thing, however, is that from this time the preparations for the great feast begin which the Jibaros call 'the tobacco feast of the women' (Noa tsangu) and which has the character of a nuptial feast."

1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the 'tobacco feast' require as a rule two or three years. This is due to the fact that they mainly consist in breeding domestic animals, swine and hens, and in making new plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruit. The small pigs must grow big and fat, and the fields must be fully developed, fruitful, and in a flourishing state before the feast can take place.

During the two years of preparation the girl has to diet, being subject to certain restrictions in regard to her food. The rules of diet are the following:--she must not drink manioc-beer (nihamánchi), she is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, i.e. the flesh of the most important domestic animals, she must likewise abstain from eating the flesh of the wild hog (unta pakki), of any kind of monkey, and of those big birds of the forest which the Jibaros mostly hunt. On the other hand, she is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi), the rodent agouti (kayuka), and quite small birds of the kind the Jibaros hunt with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows. Of large fish she can eat the one called by the Jibaros wámbi, a white fish with a red tail and fins, but is forbidden to eat the smaller white fish kánga (in Spanish bocachico), the most common fish in the South American rivers. She is also allowed to eat sardines (chumakai) and certain other small fish called sháchma. With regard to vegetables, her food consists mainly of cooked and mashed manioc, called nauma, of beans and maize, and of a dish prepared of the leaves of a wild plant which the Jibaros call épo.

Not only the young woman herself, but also her future husband must observe the above rules of diet because of the intimate relation which exists between husband and wife.

The swine and the chickens are the principal domestic animals upon which the spirit of tobacco, conjured during the coming feast, will exercise its favourable influence, making them numerous and fat. [192] Precisely because the power of the tobacco is in a mysterious way active in the swine and the chickens, the woman must, during the critical period, abstain from eating the flesh of these animals, lest the tobacco should prove harmful to her. In infringing these rules of diet, therefore, she would expose herself to danger, and the tobacco might prove useless, or rather harmful, even with regard to the animals, so that, instead of increasing, they would pine away and die. The flesh of the wild hog the woman is forbidden to eat because of its great similarity to the domestic swine. Since during the period in question she is supposed to be in a delicate condition, she must wholly avoid eating all animals in which--according to the idea of the Indians--evil spirits could possibly be incarnate, such as monkeys and many big birds of the forest. On the other hand, she may eat all animals regarding which no superstitious ideas are held, such as the peccary and the agouti and, among fish, the sardine.

The prohibition of the fish _kánga_ to the woman is due to causes connected with the

1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to their tradition, all animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes have in ancient times been men, that is, Jibaros. In that remote antiquity they also used to wage war upon each other, to make reduced trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, and to hold victory feasts, just as the Jibaros do still. Then in a fight the fish *kánga* was killed by one of his enemies, who was later changed into a bird, the umbrella-bird, *ungúmi* who made a trophy of his head. Therefore the mouth of the fish *kánga* is still very much like the reduced mouth of a human trophy *(tsantsa)*, and this is the reason why a woman preparing for a tobacco feast must abstain from eating that fish. She would otherwise come into intimate contact with the angry spirit of a killed Indian.

First of all, however, the tobacco spirit will exert a favourable influence upon the crops, making the plantations grow rapidly and bear fruit abundantly (*áha pamboártinyu*). The rules of diet mentioned above have also special reference to the agricultural preparations for the feast. If the woman infringes these rules, if she does not fast carefully, the whole tobacco feast will prove a failure; the spirit of the plant will not promote the growth of the fields and make them fruitful, but will bring about the very contrary result. Every Jibaro woman who prepares for a tobacco feast is therefore anxious to observe, as strictly as possible, the rules in regard to fasting which custom prescribes for her."

1: Karsten--193 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 585, 535 (1928-29)

"The tobacco feast proper lasts four days. It is preceded by certain ceremonies which have the character of preliminaries but are looked upon as being essential. Among these preliminaries the dance Wuimchi is the most important. It is a ring dance performed by the younger men and boys in which they move round one of the central pillars of the house, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, incessantly mentioning such animals and birds of the forest by name which the Jibaros mostly hunt, as well as details of the industrial arts incumbent on the men. This dance is performed every evening for several hours about eight days before the commencement of the feast, and is supposed to exert a favourable influence upon the household and the industrial art of the Indians. It is regarded as a necessary preliminary of all great feasts of the Indians..."

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"Another preliminary [WPM: to the tobacco feast] is the ceremony called *Nauma*, i.e. the chewing of the manioc root for the purpose of brewing manioc-beer, a ceremony that takes place three days before the feast proper begins. Early in the morning all the women of the house, headed by the girl in whose honour the feast is to be held, march out to the manioc fields in the neighbourhood with their baskets (*changina*) to fetch the great quantity of manioc roots necessary for the purpose. When the women have arrived at the field, the young bride first receives some juice of tobacco from an old woman. The first manioc root is pulled up and placed in the basket by the girl, her hand being held by the older woman. Thereupon all the women proceed to fill their baskets with manioc roots and carry them home.

Here the ceremony takes place which is called by the Indians *Nauma*, *i. e.* the ceremonial chewing of the manioc, in which women from different houses in the neighbourhood are invited to take part. First the roots are peeled and boiled in big clay pots placed on different fires in the house. When the manioc is soft, the pots are removed from the fires and the roots mashed, as is done with potatoes. The pots are arranged in a circle on the floor, some empty ones being placed in the middle. The women now sit down on the floor, each in front of a clay pot of manioc, and the chewing of the fruit begins. Each woman fills her mouth with the mashed fruit and masticates it for a long while with great care, over and over again, more or less like a ruminating cow. She does not stop until the masticated substance is in a liquid state; then she stoops down towards the empty pot in front of her and [194] spits the white liquid into it. When the pots are more or less half full of this fluid, unmasticated mashed manioc is added until the vessels are full, and the whole mass is stirred. The mouths of the clay vessels are carefully covered with banana leaves and they are then placed in a particular place in the women's department close to two of the pillars supporting the house. Here the fermentation will take place, that wonderful process which to the Indian mind is supernatural and sacred, and is ascribed to the soul animating the manioc plant. In order that the fermentation may proceed quickly and without disturbing influences, the women finally sit round the clay pots covered with palm leaves and sing a sort of prayer or incantation to the spirit of the manioc plant.

Not only ordinary manioc-beer is brewed for a feast, but also a special manioc-beer and a kind of manioc-wine, both prepared from roasted manioc. While the pots were boiling in the house, the men had been roasting manioc roots outside, the roots being placed over a big fire on a frame made of tree branches and called pingána. A number of the biggest roots have been selected for the purpose and of these again two particularly well developed have been chosen, to be laid on the roasting frame by the young girl with the assistance of the priestess. Thereupon other roots are added without ceremony. As soon as the roots are sufficiently roasted, they are placed on big banana leaves and taken into the house. Here two baskets (changina) are ceremonially filled with the roasted manioc roots by the girl, whose hands are constantly held by the priestess. The first two manioc roots, however, are prepared in a special way before being laid in the baskets. The bride, whose hands are held by the priestess, cuts up the root with a knife and puts into it a little salt, which she bites off from a bigger piece and puts into the manioc with a little saliva, a little bark from the stem of the manioc plant, and a little mould which has formed upon some old roasted pieces of manioc enveloped in leaves and kept for the particular purpose of preparing manioc-wine. Some more of the roasted manioc roots are treated in the same way, the rest being placed in the baskets as they are. When the baskets are full, they are covered with certain big leaves and hung up at the same pillars in the house where the clay pots containing ordinary manioc-beer are. They are left there for three days, in order that they may 'ripen' and become impregnated with the power of the salt and the other things put into the manioc roots. I was able to establish for [195] myself that this way of preparing them was by no means merely an empty ceremony, or due to superstition. When some days later I tasted one of the roasted manioc roots I found it had a peculiar sweetish flavour, and the Indians assured me that the wine to be prepared from these roots would be particularly strong.

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

The preparation both of the manioc-beer and the wine is continued on the first day of the feast, three days later,..."

1: Karsten--195-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"I shall now describe shortly the ceremonies which take place on each of the four days devoted to the feast.

....the young bride is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called *whuéa*. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest. The young girl in whose honour the feast is held is called *tsángrama*. A sister of hers and another young female relative also take part in the principal ceremonies, and the *tsángrama*, her sister, and the third young woman are often mentioned in connection with one another.

The first day of a great feast is always called *Utsándowai*, *i.e.* 'The opening of the feast'. It begins early in the morning with the solemn entrance of the guests into the house. All guests invited to the feast have arrived on the day before, but they have passed the night in provisional shelters outside the house. Having arranged their dress and their ornaments and renewed their facial paintings, they enter the house headed by the old man who acts as priest at the feast. Once in the house, they arrange themselves in two rows from the door towards the centre and sit down on small seats (*kutánga*) placed there for the purpose. They are welcomed in the usual way with manioc-beer (*nihamánchi*), which is offered to them ceremonially by the women. In the middle of the room, close to the first central pillar, a number of big clay pots (*muitsa*) have been

1: Karsten--195-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

placed; they contain food, pork and chicken. In front of these four women take their stand; the first of these is the principal person of the feast, the young bride, the second her sister, and the rest near female relations of hers. Each of them has a clay dish (pininga) filled with manioc-beer in her hands. The men now have to step forward to drink a little from the clay dish of each woman. The future husband of the young girl takes them there in their proper turns, beginning with the eldest guest and finishing with [196] the youngest; lastly he himself drinks. When this is done, the men start to eat. Some banana leaves are spread on the floor in front of the clay pots containing food, and upon these a number of clay dishes are placed. The dishes are filled with meat and boiled manioc and are thereafter distributed among the men, who also partake of the manioc-beer which is being constantly carried round by the women. While the eating and drinking is going on, some Indians beat the drums incessantly, as is customary at the Indian feasts.

The drinking-bout is continued the whole forenoon, the men retaining their seats. On the space between them various parties of women appear dancing. The dance--which is called Ihiámbrama--is started by the bride, her sister, and the priestess, whom three other women have joined. The women stand, three in each row, against each other moving alternately towards and from each other at a slow pace and making steps which cannot exactly be described in words. Two Indians, who also move to and fro on the floor, accompany their dance by beating drums or playing flutes. The women, having danced for a while, are relieved by others, but the number of women appearing varies. Later on only four, three, or two appear at a time, and sometimes a woman is seen dancing solo, always accompanied by some men beating the drums. The dance and the drumming is thus continued for several hours.

In the afternoon the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine is continued in so far as the roasted roots hung up in the two baskets are chewed, i. e. a new Nauma ceremony takes place. Of the masticated fruit a part is separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing the special manioc-beer referred to above, whereas of the rest of the masticated fruit the manioc-wine is prepared by the essence of the masticated substance being distilled. Since the procedure thereby will be minutely described in connection with the great victory feast, I shall not dwell on this detail here, and the same may be said of the manioc-beer which is brewed by using a special ferment of chewed manioc substance prepared earlier. The special manioc-beer prepared from roasted manioc roots is drunk on the third and fourth day of the feast after the principal ceremonies, whereas the manioc-wine, sangucha shiki, is drunk at the end of the feast before the guests depart.

In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed

1: Karsten--195-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

1: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

"The second day of the feast is assigned for the ceremony which is called 'the drinking of the chiki medicine' (chiki umártinyu). Chiki is the root of a plant with the same name, specially cultivated by the Jibaros, to which magical properties are ascribed. Early in the morning three clay dishes (pininga) are placed in a row on the floor, one for the bride, another for her sister, and a third for another female relative of the bride. At the most important ceremonies taking place on this and the following days of the feast these three women appear together, and they are assisted by the priestess (whuéa). A cooking pot is half-filled with water, placed on the fire by the bride whose hands, as usual, are held by the priestess. Into this pot the following things are placed, in the same ceremonial way, by the women: 1) a small piece of manioc; 2) a small piece of camote or sweet potato; 3) a piece of the chiki root; and 4) two tobacco leaves. The water in the pot is not allowed to boil, but is only warmed. When it is luke-warm the tobacco leaves are taken out and the liquid is poured into the three piningas by the bride whose hands are held by the priestess. The latter thereupon passes one of the piningas to the bride, who drinks up its whole contents and immediately runs outside to throw it up; the chiki medicine, it should be understood, has the effect of a vomitory which is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman and favourably prepare her for the dreams. Thereupon the priestess in the same way allows the second and the third woman to empty the contents of their piningas, and they likewise

1: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

at once go outside to throw it up. The women are now considered to be properly prepared for the taking of the tobacco medicine itself, which is called savinya. During this and the following day, or until the feast is ended, both the bride and the other two women have to fast more strictly than before, their only food being a little boiled and mashed manioc. When they eat they take care not to touch the food with their fingers, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

After the drinking of chiki is finished, the guests are entertained with manioc-beer. A great number of piningas are placed in two parallel rows and filled with manioc-beer prepared from the roasted manioc roots and offered to the guests by the women. With this drinking-bout the morning's ceremonies are finished.[198]

Early in the evening the priestess prepares the tobacco medicine called savinya. From a bundle of tobacco which has been kept in a special place in the house she takes some leaves, chews them carefully, mixing, the chewed mass well with saliva, and lastly spits it out into a small clay pot (nattipya), specially made for the purpose. When she has obtained a sufficient quantity of this strong medicine, which is thick like syrup, she covers the clay pot with a cover made of clay, which at the same time serves as a cup from which the women have to take the medicine reached them by the priestess. The small clay pot, with its cover, is first placed in a basket (changina) which is hung up at one of the pillars of the house until the tobacco medicine is needed.

Late in the evening the bride and the two other women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outside in the neighbourhood of the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pass the night, each woman in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there and gives them the savinya medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong medicine, taken on an empty stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams to which the Jibaros ascribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nungüi herself and the other spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They will see the swine and the hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by flourishing plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will be produced more easily when they sleep alone in the plantations. Early in the morning the old woman goes to the shelters to look after the women and again gives them tobacco juice, whereupon all return to the house.

Now the ceremonies of the third day begin, which essentially consist in the women receiving savinya in repeated doses and songs being sung to the Earth-mother. The bride sits down on a seat opposite the priestess, the two other women taking seats beside the former. The hair of the bride is tied up by her fiancé by means of a band, and her head and shoulders are wet with water 'because earlier, in the plantation, she had been vomiting'. The priestess now gives her juice of tobacco and similarly portions of it to the two other women. Thereupon the songs to the Earth-mother Nungüi

l: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

begin, which are led by the priestess, sometimes assisted by another old woman. These songs are continued, with small intervals, for several hours, being led by the priestess who first recites them without singing, so that the younger women may learn them, whereupon all women sing them. Between [199] the songs the three women repeatedly receive juice of tobacco from the hand of the old woman. Sometimes she even rubs their fingers with the juice and blows upon them; then the songs are again continued.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees

---

"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaĕma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,
send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,

---

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See *infra*, p. 351)."

multiply my crop of camote,
multiply my crop of earth-nuts!' etc. [200]

These are the main themes of the incantations, somewhat varied in different songs, but always essentially the same. Similarly the melodies to which they are sung are the same as those mentioned before. The incantations are chiefly interrupted for the sake of giving the women repeated savinya doses. The women are not allowed to take anything but this medicine during the whole day; thus, it is believed, they will be favourably prepared for the dreams in the following night. In the evening the priestess, as usual, takes the three women to the shelters in the fields outside the house, whither they are accompanied by other men and women. The priestess, before she leaves them, again gives them tobacco juice. The women now sleep in the shelter till about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the priestess again takes them to the house. At this hour the important ceremony occurs which is called 'the slaughter of the swine' (cuchi matinyu), and which forms part of all great feasts. The ceremonial slaughter of the swine will be described in detail in connection with the great victory feast.

Until the slaughter of the swine takes place the night has been spent in dancing the dances Wuimchi and Ihiámbrama, just as in the night before."

1: Karsten--200-205 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 789 (1928-29)

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her "husband", as above (p. 135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,

our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

1: Karsten--200-205 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 585, 276, 789 (1928-29)

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!'

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!' (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

---

"1. *This belief is due to the idea* entertained by the Jíbaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

1: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

l: Karsten--208 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584, 177 (1928-29)

"The customs observed at marriage by the Indians of Canelos essentially differ from those of the Jibaros proper. The former have on this point been influenced by the mountain Indians, as is also the case with the Napo Indians, whereas the latter have kept up usages which have been followed within the Jibaro nation since times immemorial. As to the Canelos Indians, we have to remember that they are now nominally Christians and that their marriages as a rule sooner or later receive ecclesiastical confirmation. The practices described below, however, are in the main genuinely Indian and of considerable interest."

1: Karsten-- 208 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584 (1928-29)

"At Canelos it is the parents of the young marriage candidate that have to ask the parents of the girl for her hand on behalf of their son. Early in the morning, while it is still dark, they repair to the house of the girl's parents to negotiate about the matter. As is frequently the case among the Indians, the mother of the girl has just as much to say as the father when the daughter is given away in marriage, sometimes even more. Similarly the brothers and sisters of the girl must give their consent before the matter is settled. If all have given their consent, the young man is informed; he waits upon his future parents-in-law, and kisses their hands and feet, and the betrothal is sealed with a drinking-feast."

1: Karsten--208-209 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the nuptials begin at once, and these take place eight days later after a considerable supply of provisions has been procured by hunting and fishing, great quantities of manioc-beer have been brewed, and new clay vessels have been made by the women. The nuptial-feast itself is considered absolutely indispensable, for, if the traditional marriage ceremonies are not arranged, it is believed the young husband will soon die. This belief is due to the idea, deeply rooted in the minds ot the Indians, that the contracting of marriage is an extremely critical occasion because of the evil spirits which are then on the alert to spoil human welfare and happiness. [209]

The nuptials are mainly celebrated with eating and drinking, making music and dancing. The 'music' is performed partly by means of drums, partly by means of a primitive wooden instrument called sigi-sigi. The latter is a small table of chonta wood about 30 cm. in length and 5 cm. in breadth with incisions made on one-side at regular intervals so that, when the instrument is worked upon with a chonta stick which is rapidly passed from one end to the other and back, a rattling sound is produced. The dance again is of that ceremonial kind which is customary among the Indians on such occasions: one man and one woman appear at a time dancing solo, directed by the Indian conducting the ceremonies. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the woman alternately moving to and from each other in a slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum and the sigi-sigi instrument. This solo dance and the

1: Karsten--208-209 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 585 (1928-29)

drinking-bout are continued the whole day and are supposed to have the effect of keeping off supernatural influences and promoting the happiness of the young couple.

The ceremonies at the nuptial festivity are led by a 'bestman', elected by the parents of the fiancé, and his wife. The leader, who is as a rule an elderly man and frequently a medicine-man, goes about the room the whole day playing the instrument sigi-sigi and inviting the guests to dance solo in their proper turns. His wife is sitting among the women at the other end of the room; she has a piece of linen about one yard and a half in length. When the leader wishes some one of the men to dance he puts his own hat on his head; this for his wife is a sign to put the piece of linen on the shoulders of the wife of that guest. Both now rise and dance solo for a while, accompanied by the leader playing sigi-sigi. Then the guest again restores the hat to the leader, who puts in [sic] on the head of another guest, and the latter in his turn has to dance solo for a while with his wife, who has been invited to dance by the leader's wife with the piece of linen, and so on. In this way the whole day, a good deal of the following night, as well as the following day, is spent in dancing, eating and drinking."

l: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i.e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

1: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as *comparu* (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the god-father of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the *supai* or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the *supai* has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic *aya huasca* to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called *shigshi huasca*, or the rind of a shrub called *pétun cara*, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine *shigshi huasca* or the rind *pétun cara* is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

1: Karsten--212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 589 (1928-29)

"Neither among the Jibaros nor among the Canelos Indians have I known persons who have been obliged to remain unmarried their whole life. In regard to the women such a state of things is almost out of the question for the very reason that the Jibaros are polygynists and that there is, on the whole, a scarcity of women in their communities. But even bachelors are practically unknown, and a man who never obtained a woman would be ridiculed by all. The Jibaros, as we have seen, in the first place want to marry girls of their own sub-tribe, but in case of need they procure young girls from other Jibaro tribes, sometimes even stealing them from enemy tribes vanquished in war and taking them home."

1: Karsten--212-213 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 783 (1928-29)

"If a woman becomes a widow she cannot marry again at will but is bound by certain restrictions. First and foremost, owing to the close relationship assumed between brothers, she is believed naturally to belong to the eldest brother of her deceased husband, who is bound to marry her. If he had no brothers she may marry another man, generally in some way related to her former husband, but not at once. The prohibition of her remarriage when or with whom she likes is due to the superstitious ideas mentioned in the last chapter. Generally the widow has to wait for one year before she can marry again, or until the hair of her head which at the death of her husband was cut short, has again grown long. Besides this, she has to pass through a certain purificatory ceremony with fire. The widow has to sit down on a seat, her head is covered with a cloth, and a termite nest is set on fire, the smoke of which she has to receive in her face until she is nearly suffocated. This smoking ceremony is believed to purify her from the taboo attaching to her after the death of her husband and she can now remarry. If the woman marries before the year has elapsed, or does not pass through the purification ceremony just mentioned, the consequence may be that the new [213] husband will soon die and that the child she gives birth to will be a monster. The demon operating in this case is again the spirit or soul of the dead husband, who jealously watches his former wife. Among the Jibaros therefore untimely marriages of widows are as strictly prohibited as marriages between near relatives."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly, [sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

---

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 831 (1928-29)

"From what I have stated about the love charms we gather that free love, seduction of women, etc., are not unknown in the Jibaro society. But from this it must by no means be inferred that sexual licentiousness in general is characteristic of our Indians. The very reverse is true. The Jibaros especially are very decent in sexual matters. They do not consider it proper to discuss such questions publicly, and obscene gestures or language, which are no rare thing for instance among the Chaco Indians, one does not witness among the Jibaros. At any rate this is the impression I have received myself during the years I have lived in close contact with the Indians in their own houses."

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 836, 582 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood and become what is called a tsémbrama. If a boy has intercourse with a woman before that time, it is believed, he will soon die. Generally a Jibaro youth marries when he [sic] 18 to 20 years old."

1: Karsten--216 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 833, 152 (1928-29)

"It has generally been assumed that among the majority of savage races the sexual instinct is very strongly developed and 'sexual life carried on very intensely' (1) and this generalizing statement is naturally meant to apply to the savages of the New World also. My own impression is that this assertion at any rate does not hold true of the Indians of South America, and particularly not of the tribes with which I am concerned here. When a Jibaro Indian has caught a woman whom he particularly likes, it is natural that at first he gives vent to his passion for her, and he may then have intercourse with her even several times during a night. But excesses of this kind are by no means the general rule among the Jibaros, who on the whole do not indulge in sexual relations more than most white people do, rather less. There is in fact on this point a notable difference between the whites and the mestizos on the one hand and the Indians on the other. The Jibaro Indian's capability of exercising control over himself in the sexual domain is shown by his readiness to submit himself to the prohibition of sexual intercourse during more or less protracted periods. We have already seen the Indians observing

---

"1. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, I. 495 (quoting Malinowsky). Dr. Malinowsky calls his own book, where one single Melanesian tribe is treated of, 'The Sexual Life of Savages.'"

1: Karsten--216 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 833, 152 (1928-29)

sexual abstinence on many occasions, and other similar instances will presently be mentioned. To the Ecuadorian white or mestizo such control over himself would certainly be impossible."

1: Karsten--216-217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 834, 784 (1928-29)

"A married Jibaro man not only abstains from cohabiting with his [217] wife for instance when he is preparing his arrow-poison or making a shield or blowgun, after he has planted the narcotics natéma or maikoa, and when he is preparing for a great feast, but also on several other occasions. Thus at an advanced stage of pregnancy he generally abstains from cohabiting with his wife, lest the still unborn child may thereby be harmed. When the child is born he likewise abstains from sleeping with the mother for some time--in most cases, I believe, as long as the child is suckled--nor can he have sexual relations with any other woman. This would have harmful effects upon the new-born child so that it might die. The father's continence in this case is closely connected with the rules of diet he has to observe for some time after his child is born, and which will be described in the next chapter. Similarly, as we shall soon see, a Jibaro has strictly to observe sexual abstinence for a long time after he has killed an enemy, and for some days after a death has occurred. A Canelos Indian likewise has to observe sexual abstinence on many occasions, among other things during the wedding-night itself, as we have just seen."

1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

1: Karsten--217-218 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 842, 775 (1928-29)

"The ideas which the Indians entertain about the physiological significance of the sexual act are of particular interest and it may be proper to mention them here. The Indians certainly realize, in a general way the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy, but about generation and conception they have their own peculiar theory which among other things appears in their belief in a 'supernatural' birth. Their ideas of animal and plant spirits who partake of the nature of human souls and are even regarded as the souls of ancestors, as well as their custom of naming newborn children after animals and plants and at the same time after ancestors, seems to point to a general belief, now perhaps half forgotten, in the return of departed souls through a new birth. In fact, traces of the existence of a belief in such a rebirth are still to be found. 'After a long time the souls of the dead are again reborn in some of their descendants; this is the reason why we give to a newborn child the [218] name of one of its forefathers.' Such was the explanation which was given me by an old medicine-man with whom I discussed these questions. Other Jibaros again assured that they did not know anything about the rebirth of the departed. Evidently these are questions to which common people in the Jibaro society, and especially younger persons, devote but little thought."

1: Karsten--218-219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 842, 821 (1928-29)

"Their ideas about conception and pregnancy are more definite. Conception according to their idea is brought about by the new moon in connection with the natural sexual intercourse. The new moon is also believed to effect the menstruation of the women, of which physiological process the Jibaros use the expression nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her.' The time most suited for cohabitation and conception is that falling between the 'dying' moon and the following new moon. During this time the Jibaro usually has intercourse with his wives with a view to begetting children. He is however of opinion that as a rule a woman cannot be made pregnant by one single act of sexual intercourse. Several are necessary; the new being has to be created as it were by degrees, the moon always playing the part of a promotor of the creating process. When the Jibaro has cohabited with his wife in the period between two moons, the following new moon will in some mysterious way bring about the first development of the foetus. Every following new moon, in connection with repeated cohabitation, adds a little to it until in the course of nine months the foetus is full-grown and the birth takes place.

This statement of the Jibaros must be understood to mean that the germ of the new human being comes from man, who at the sexual act simply puts it into the woman, just as a seed is sown in the earth, the new moon thereby effectively aiding in developing the foetus. This primitive view, which in South America is by no means limited to the

1: Karsten--218-219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 842, 821 (1928-29)

Jibaros (1), is of interest in so far as it explains a custom which among these Indians also occurs in a modified form, namely, the custom of couvade. If the child, at least physiologically, has its proper origin in the father, we can understand the close connection or 'sympathy' existing between the father and his newborn babe, manifesting itself in that for instance the food eaten by the former will affect the latter for good or for evil. These ideas we shall consider again in the chapter on the birth customs.

The present-day Indian is thus firmly convinced that a woman can-[219]not conceive without having intercourse with a man. But the mediator of the process of conception need not necessarily be a living man, he may also be a dead one, that is, a spirit or demon. From this point of view we may speak of a supernatural birth in regard to the Jibaros, namely, in so far as they believe that a spirit or demon can have sexual intercourse with a woman and generate a child. This belief is quite common among the Jibaros and the Indians of Canelos, as among various other tribes in Ecuador, and has influenced the customs they observe at the birth of a child and even their marriage customs, as we have seen in the case of the Canelos Indians."

---

"1. See my Civilization of the South American Indians, p. 445 sq."

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

"Conception through a demon, resulting in an evil birth and a monstrous child, may take place under different circumstances.

When among the CANELOS INDIANS a woman is menstruating she is obliged to diet and does not leave the house except for the most urgent needs. If she goes alone into the forest she may meet the demon, supai, in the shape of a white man dressed in black clothes, who grasps her by the hand, leads her away, and seduces her. The women themselves are said to have a special liking for the supai meeting them in this shape and to yield readily to the temptation. They are, therefore, guarded by their husbands while menstruating.

The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive.

Generally, however, the demon appears to a woman in the shape of a beautiful Indian, painted red with roucou in the face and wearing a feather crown (tawasámba) on the head.

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

He mostly meets the woman in a dream, while she is sleeping, and tries to seduce her. If he has had intercourse with her two nights in succession, she will soon feel pains in the womb, and some time afterwards she will either die or give birth to a supai huahua.

The Canelos Indians told me about a young Indian woman who had lived alone with the supai in an uninhabited region on the Rio Rutúnu, [220] a small tributary to the Bobonasa. The supai had the shape of a beautiful Indian, well dressed and painted red in the face. He stayed with the woman one week as her husband, and every day brought her all sorts of game from the forest as well as fish. The woman had previously been beautiful and fat, but after that time she began to get thin and pine away and finally died. This was due to her having had intercourse with the supai.

One of the most formidable demons known to the Indians is the huge water boa, called amárum by the Quichua-speaking Indians. It is the original source of witchcraft and the souls of sorcerers especially are believed to take up their abode, temporaily [sic] or permanently, in this monster. Now, in the imagination of the Indians the rainbow (cuichi) is nothing but a huge boa in the air or, as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the boa'. One superstition held about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are menstruating ought not to go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone at night in some shelter of palm leaves in the forest they are liable to be visited by the cuichi supai ( the rainbow demon ) who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being as usual, a supai huahua. (1)

The Canelos Indians moreover believe that the demon, when he wants to visit a woman, may take the shape of a black, nocturnal bird which they call tulúlu. The tulúlu supai at night enters into the house where he assumes human shape and has intercourse with the woman while she is sleeping. Soon afterwards the woman falls ill, and some time later she will give birth to something evil.

---

"1. This superstition prevails both among the Napo and the Canelos Indians, but is particularly held by the mountain Indians from whom it has, perhaps, been propagated to the primitive tribes in the virgin forests of the east. At Pelileo, a village situated in the mountain regions of Central Ecuador, I was told about an Indian woman who had given birth to a dreadful monster, half a hairy pig, half a human being. The Indians explained the phenomenon by the woman having exposed herself to the embraces of the demon of the rainbow.

The Quichua-speaking women of the mountain regions also believe that they may be made pregnant by lizards and other similar animal beings entering into them. When an Indian woman sees a lizard therefore she jumps far away for fear of coming in contact with it."

1; Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

Sometimes the demon takes the shape of a hawk (anga) and then has intercourse with a woman at night, during sleep. Afterwards she [221] gives birth to a supai huahua which is grey in colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk and deformed legs. Such a monster, as already mentioned, is buried alive or at any rate killed."

1: Karsten--221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847 (1928-29)

"In order to be able to cohabit with a man without getting pregnant the Canelos women are in the habit of taking a medicine prepared from the small piripiri plant. The root knots of the plant are crushed and soaked in water, and the woman takes a quantity of this drink. Afterwards she has to eat only roasted plantain without salt and small birds of the forest. If she infringes these rules of diet, she is believed to be particularly exposed to the very danger against which the piripiri drink was to protect her. When she goes to the river to bathe--which the Canelos Indians as a rule do every day--the supai [JKM: demon] may enter her in the water in the form of a small fish or a water insect, the consequence being that she will sicken and die, or get pregnant and give birth to a monster."

1: Karsten--221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jibaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

---

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

1: Karsten--221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 574 (1928-29)

"I have stated before that jealousy is not particularly characteristic of the Jibaro women who are the co-wives of the same man, which may in part be due to the fact that in many cases they are sisters or near relatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Jibaro men, who generally are very jealous of their wives. The jealousy of the Jibaro men forms part of their general suspiciousness and treacherous character. They can never trust a visiting guest who, even when he seemingly comes as a friend, may nevertheless nourish evil designs, trying to bewitch the women with the evil eye or to seduce them with his love charms. If the Jibaro Indian has found, or believes he has found, his suspicions confirmed, he is terrible in his revenge, and this revenge turns not only against the supposed seducer but also easily against his own wife."

1: Karsten--222-223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 595 (1928-29)

"If the Jibaro man treats his wife well and does not neglect his duties towards her, she is as a rule faithful and a model housewife. It is otherwise when she finds herself neglected by her husband, as not seldom happens. The Jibaros not only live in polygyny, but it may happen that an elderly man, especially an old chief, procures several young wives, even quite young girls captured from enemy tribes, towards whom he cannot duly perform his marital duties. It is no uncommon thing that such young, neglected wives engage in sexual relations with other men, [223] in spite of the risk that they incur thereby. Intelligent as the Jibaro woman is, she may display extraordinary acuteness in deceiving her husband."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 562 (1928-29)

"The cruelty with which the deceived Jibaro husband treats his unfaithful wife is all the more noteworthy as otherwise the social position of the Jibaro woman is by no means that of an oppressed slave, as we shall presently see. She has much to say even in matters which do not directly concern her own domain within the household. But in a case of adultery only brute force and the law of the desert is valid. The Jibaro Indian treats his unfaithful wife simply in the same way as he treats his enemy to whom no mercy is shown."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

1: Karsten--224 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 842, 863 (1928-29)

"After the 'tobacco feast' the conjugal life of the Jibaro couple generally begins, in some cases--that is to say, when the girl is not very young--even immediately after betrothal. As a rule, however, the Jibaro woman does not become a mother until she is 16 or 17 years old; at any rate I have not among these Indians seen younger mothers. --The Canelos woman generally marries at a more mature age."

1: Karsten--224 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 843, 784 (1928-29)

"When a new member is expected in a family this is an important incident which is connected with many interesting ceremonies and many taboos. They deserve particular attention as illustrating in a typical way the general Indian idea of a close and mysterious relationship existing between the parents, especially the father, and the newborn child. Just as the Jibaro or Canelos Indian fasts and observes other rules of abstinence after he has planted and sown his fields or while he is breeding his dog, so he submits himself to similar restrictions in regard to his mode of life after a child is born to him, and naturally with still greater rigour.

These restrictions have special reference to the diet. Among the JIBAROS the woman starts dieting even before the child is born, and at any rate in some tribes her husband joins her therein. As soon as the woman feels herself to be pregnant she abstains from eating salt and sweet things like the papaya fruit (*Carica papaya*), sugar cane, and a kind of wild grape called *shuya*. The reason which the Indians give for this abstinence is that if the woman eats salt or sweet things 'the foetus will grow very big' and delivery become difficult. The woman also has to abstain from eating palm cabbage and the intestines of animals, especially of the paca and the wild hog, because, if she eats, the child will get diarrhoea. These rules are, at least among the Jibaros of the Santiago, observed by the father of the future child also."

1: Karsten--224-226 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 844 (1928-29)

"When the mother begins to feel the pangs of childbirth she is at [225] once taken out from the house, to a special shelter of palm leaves constructed in the neighbourhood of it, in the plantain or manioc plantation, whither she is accompanied by an elderly woman who acts as a midwife. The house must not be polluted by the childbirth, nor are other persons of the family, and still less outsiders, allowed to be present. The bewitching arrows of sorcerers and the 'evil eye', which may seriously complicate matters, are especially feared on such occasions. Generally the Indian woman bears children with ease, and should the birth be difficult this would be a sure sign that evil spirits or mysterious influences have been at work.

In order to facilitate delivery, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are in the habit of scraping off with a knife a little of the poisonous sting of the ray and mixing this powder with the drink or food of the woman. This will have the effect of promoting the exit of the foetus.

The Jibaros moreover practise the following custom for the same purpose. A medicine-man is called in; he takes a hen's egg, blows upon it and mutters a special conjuration over it, holding it close to his mouth; thereupon he breaks the egg allowing its contents to pour directly into the mouth of the pregnant woman who, sitting on a bench, has to swallow it raw without touching it with her hands. The idea is that the woman will now be delivered of her foetus as easily as the hen is delivered of its egg.

1: Karsten--224-226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 844 (1928-29)

There is a special kind of banana which the Indians call palanda noa, 'the female plantain'. Generally the banana belongs to those plants to which the Indians ascribe the male sex, but the palanda noa forms an exception owing to the tendency of its shell to burst open when the fruit is boiled. At Canelos the men avoid eating this banana, otherwise, they say, their wives will bear only female children. On the other hand, they readily let their wives eat it because it is believed to facilitate their delivery.

When the child has arrived, the woman is washed with hot water and the flow of blood is stopped by heated lava stones. The umbilical cord is cut off, not with a knife, but with a sharp split of wild bamboo (shingyána). The iron of the whites is to the Indians in a way taboo and therefore not used at certain important ceremonies. 'With the knife we cut flesh into pieces', a Jibaro explained to me, 'we do not therefore touch our delicate children with it'. If a knife or some other iron instrument were used to cut the cord with, this would be the same as cutting off the life of the child; the little one would die. The bit of cord remain-[226]ing with the babe is attended to with great care, and when it falls off after some days it is, like the after-birth, placenta, buried 'in order that the dogs or other animals shall not be able to eat them', an eventuality which likewise would imply danger for the life of the child.

Before the newborn child is laid to the breast of the mother to suck, a medicine is given it, prepared from a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called tsinsimba. The leaves of this plant are carefully chewed and mixed with saliva, and a little of this medicine is put into the mouth of the child by the oldest person in the family, who must be a man if the child is of male sex, and a woman if it is of the female sex. The tsinsimba to which the Jibaros ascribe wonderful properties is believed to strengthen the newborn child. The same medicine is also later given to children of different ages at the 'feast of the children'."

1: Karsten--226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"When the delivery has taken place without complications and the woman is recovering, she is taken into the house where she remains in complete inactivity without going out. On the third day after the birth the oldest man or woman in the family gives the child a name which has before been borne by some member of the same family and which generally is the name of an animal, bird, or plant, animal and bird names being most common for men, plant names most common for women. Animals and plants are believed to be animated by human souls (wakáni) some of which are of the male, some of the female sex, and male and female human children are named accordingly."

1: Karsten--226 [2]	(1916-18) 1935	Jivaro
116, 551	(1928-29)

"As instances of Jibaro names the following may be mentioned. For men: Jawára (Tiger), Pangi (the great anaconda, Eunectes murinus), Tsungi (a mythical water monster, said to be 'the brother' of the Pangi), Yákuma (the red Howling Monkey), Kunámbi (Squirrel), Ambúsha (Owl), Ungúmi (Umbrella-bird), Máshu (Paugi, Crax elector), Etsa (Sun), Yangámi (Big Star), Cuishi (Ear), Nauicha (Foot), Maikoa (the narcotic plant Datura arborea). For women: Mama (Manioc), Inchi (Comote), Mika (Bean), Nússi (Earth-nut), Ipyáku (Bixa orellana), Sua (genipa), Chiki (a root of magic power), Núngai (Earth), Nungüi (the Earth-mother), Yánua (Star), Intsa (River)."

1: Karsten--226,-227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 828, 852 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

1: Karsten--227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 304, 852 (1928-29)

"On the same occasion [JKM: when the child is named] the old man or woman pierces the ear-lobes of the child with a thorn and a small stick is inserted into the hole so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later the holes are more and more extended for the insertion of the ear-tubes when the boy or girl is received among the full-grown persons. Female children have also the nether lip perforated, but this operation is not done until the girl is 6 to 8 years old."

1: Karsten--227 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro tribes of the Pastaza (the Achuares) have the following custom at the birth of the first son, called *iweri.* The woman, as usual, is taken out from the house to be delivered in the manioc plantation, where she remains for three days. On the fourth day she returns to the house and the newborn child is also taken there, not through the door, however, but through a hole made especially for this purpose above in the roof of the house. The father himself hands his firstborn son through this hole, the child being received inside the house by the grandfather, or the oldest member of the family. The old man, holding the little one in his arms, puts himself at the head of the male members of the family assembled there, and all start to walk round in the house chanting, beating drums, and playing on flutes. Then the old man gives the child a name borne before by some important member of the family. When the mother goes for the first time to the manioc plantation to fetch the manioc, carrying her babe on her back, she is followed there by all the men, who carry lances and other weapons. This is done with a view to protecting the newborn child and the mother against the demons (*iguánchi*) and evil sorcerers who might harm them on the way. This only takes place the first

l: Karsten--227 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

time they leave the house, which is regarded as a critical moment, especially for the child. (1)"

---

"1. Among the Kandoashis, a tribe on the nether Pastaza closely related to the Jibaros, the woman, after having been delivered in the plantain or manioc plantation, is immediately taken back to the house. Here three large clay pots, containing warm water, are held ready at the fire. The woman sits down and washes her whole body with the water in these clay pots. She remains sitting at the fireplace without doing work for three days. After the lapse of the three days she can go to the plantations and she also begins to look after her husband who is passing his time under the mosquito-net in complete inactivity, only chanting a special incantation on behalf of his newborn child and fasting strictly. This mode of life is continued by him for a whole month. A real 'couvade' thus exists among the Kandcashis."

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"The other Jibaro tribes of Eastern Ecuador and Peru, although they do not practise the couvade in the sense that the father must lie in bed after the birth of his child, still deem it absolutely necessary that both parents should observe certain rules in regard to their diet and their mode of life. In regard to the diet, the rules are the following: --as to birds, the father and mother of the child must abstain from eating the tucan (tsukánga), the mango (chui), the wood-pecker (tatáshama), the umbrella-bird (umgúmi), the cock-of-the-rock (sumga), the wild turkey (kuyu, áwacha), and the pigeon (yámbitsa); nor must they eat the intestines of any animal, hen's eggs, or fish roes; as to fish, two common fishes are especially mentioned as prohibited food, namely, the large wambi and the sheat-fish (napi or tungá).

The dietary prescriptions just mentioned are due to the following ideas. The tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the umbrella-bird, and the cock-of-the-rock belong to those birds which, although they are normally eaten, are yet regarded with superstition, because it is believed that they may serve as abodes or vehicles for the magical arrow (túnchi) which the sorcerers let fly against persons whom they want to harm. By the parents eating these birds, therefore, the child may be bewitched, pine away, and die. The Jibaros use for this the expression tapiktinyu. Again, the wild turkey and the pigeon produce very loose feces and constantly excrete as if they were suffering from diarrhoea. If the parents eat these birds, therefore, their offspring will likewise have

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

diarrhoea--an illness to which small children are particularly exposed--and perhaps die. Similarly the child would be likely to contract diarrhoea if the parents ate the intestines of animals, or hen's eggs. As to the latter the Jibaros have the same superstition as the Canelos Indians: the feces of the child would become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, which would be the sign of some disease of the stomach. Again, if they eat fish roes, the child will get scrofula (káncha) of the head, a disease fairly common with Indian children.

The reason why the parents [JKM: after the birth of a child] must not eat the fish wámbi is connected with the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. In ancient times, when all animals had human shape, the wámbi was attacked and wounded by some of his enemies while trying to escape from the lagoon where he lived. He was badly hit by a lance, but contrived to draw it out from his body and escaped. However, he lost much blood and, owing to the wound received, has still a red tail and red fins, though the rest of him is quite white. Now if the parents eat the fish wámbi, their delicate [229] child will likewise lose blood, become anaemic, and die. Again, that they abstain from eating the sheat-fish, tungá, is due to the same considerations as make the Jibaro avoid that food after he has sown his maize fields. Since this large fish is extremely restless and violent, the consequence would be, if the parents ate it, that their babe would be 'tired out' and not get the rest necessary for a newborn child.

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

The sort of food just mentioned is particularly regarded as dangerous, but in their general diet the parents are extremely careful during the whole time that the child is suckled. Meat, for instance, of whatever kind it may be, they generally refuse to eat, and particularly food prepared in a strange house is always looked upon with suspicion. Frequently, when I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians, I noticed their reluctance to eat certain kinds of animal or bird, certain kinds of fruit, etc., and when I inquired about the reasons for this I often received the answer, 'I cannot eat it, for I have a sucking babe at home.'"

1: Karsten--229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro father has also to observe several other [JKM: besides dietary restrictions] precautionary rules in his mode of life. Although it is not necessary that he should lie in bed, he must keep quiet, not go out hunting in the forest, not handle poison, nor touch a knife or any other iron instrument to do work. He must not kill a venomous snake or a jaguar, or even risk meeting such an animal, for otherwise his delicate son in the house will be frightened and die."

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

1: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--229-230 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 828 (1928-29)

"According to the idea of these Indians the parents, and especially the father, form with the newborn son, as it were, one single personality. [230] The soul of the latter is intimately associated with the father's own, and everything that happens to the father during the critical days is supposed directly to affect his tender son.

This view is much easier to understand when we take into consideration that the Indian not only assumes an intimate connection or sympathy between himself and his newborn child, but that the same mysterious 'sympathy' is believed to unite him more or less closely with almost any object which is the result of his work. Thus we have seen that when an Indian has bought a little dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast and submit themselves to certain other rules in their mode of life of much the same nature as those observed when a child is born. Similarly he fasts after he has sown maize and certain other plants, while he is making a drum, a blowgun, and so forth."

1: Karsten--230-231 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846 (1928-29)

"The same peculiar view appears perhaps still more clearly in some of the birth customs of the CANELOS INDIANS. On the evening of the day of delivery as well as on the following morning various medicines are taken both by the mother herself and her husband, the object of which is partly to cure the former of her weakness, partly to strengthen and promote the development of the child. Thus the woman herself, on the day of delivery, has to take a drink prepared of the rind of a shrub called tzigta. Of this shrub there are various kinds, some of which are poisonous and used by the Indians for the preparation of the arrow-poison. The one given to a woman in childbirth is commonly used as a remedy for headache and other illnesses. The rind of the shrub is scraped off with a knife and boiled in water, and the woman has to drink a mucahua (clay dish containing nearly a litre) of this decoction. The remedy is supposed to have fortifying effects both upon the woman herself and the newborn child.

Early in the following morning another similar medicine is given to her. The rind of a shrub called petun cara is crushed with a club and soaked in water and a quantity of this solution is given the woman to drink. Immediately after that she has to take a similar quantity of another remedy prepared of the rind of the tree called pacai cara, boiled in water. Usually the solution of petun cara and the decoction of pacai cara are mingled and the woman has to drink a mucahua of this medicine. The medicine has the effect of a vomitory which will remove the evil from the stomach of the woman.

1: Karsten--230-231 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 846 (1928-29)

Again, the father of the newborn child has to take certain other [231] magical drinks, which are believed to exert a favourable influence upon the latter. The rind of a tree called tsinsála is scraped off with a knife and soaked in water, and the drink is taken by the father in the afternoon after the child is born. This medicine will have the effect of strengthening the child.

On the same evening the father takes some leaves of a tree or bush called sinchi cáspi ('the tree of strength'), which he chews and swallows raw. Lastly, on the following morning the root of the same bush is taken, crushed, and boiled in water, and the decoction is drunk by the father. The sinchi caspi is supposed to have the effect of giving much strength to the newborn babe."

l: Karsten--231-232 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"During the following eight days, or until the navel of the child is perfectly healed, the parents [JKM: of a newborn child] have to diet, and the father is obliged to observe certain other rules of abstinence. Thus they abstain from eating the tucan (sicuanga), normally so much appreciated by the Indians, because this bird may sometimes serve as the abode of a demon or as the seat of the chonta thorn (chúnta), which the sorcerers use to bewitch people with; therefore, if the parents eat the tucan, this may have the effect that the newborn child will be bewitched, pine away, and die. For the same reason they do not eat the mango, another beautiful bird of the forest used for food. They also abstain from eating the wild turkey, as well as a special kind of duck emitting a disagreeable odour, because otherwise the babe will have diarrhoea and die. Of quadrupeds they do not eat the tapir or the lumucha (Coelogenys paca), animals that are also regarded with superstition by the Indians, although they are generally eaten. Of other things forbidden to them hen's eggs are especially mentioned. If they eat eggs, the feces of the child will become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, that is, the child will have diarrhoea and die. Similarly, the parents must not drink the brandy of the whites, for this strong drink would do harm to their delicate offspring. As to the native manioc-beer (asua), they can drink it, but it must not be too strong. After the woman has been delivered, warm asua is given her.

As to fish, the parents are allowed to eat the bocachico (challua) as well as certain

1: Karsten--231-232 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

sardine-like fish (called umbúni, chúti, túgshi; and shigli in the Quichua language). Small birds of the forest of the kind the Jibaros are in the habit of shooting with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows are also regarded as harmless food. A worm or larva living in the top of certain palms, called túku, the parents are even recommended to eat. The larva [232] is very fat, and therefore the parents' eating it will have the effect of making the child fat."

1: Karsten--232
116, 846

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"During the three first days after delivery the woman does not leave the house and does not work. After that she is generally able to go to the plantation, carrying the babe on her back. The father, again, must restrict his mode of life for eight days. He does not go out hunting in the forest, for if he shoots an animal or a bird with a shotgun or blowgun, he may at the same time shoot his little child so that it dies. Nor does he undertake any work in the forest with his machete, for if he did he might kill his own son with the knife. He must not on any account kill a poisonous snake or the demoniacal animal paca (lumucha), for then his little child, although kept safe in the house, would be frightened and die.

When after the lapse of the eight days the father goes out in the forest to work for the first time and seizes his machete, he makes cutting movements with it in the air over his son before leaving the house. The little one is thus 'hardened' against the knife, so that he will not be harmed by his father using it."

1: Karsten--232 [2]          (1916-18) 1935          Jivaro
116, 163, 842, 177          (1928-29)

"The number of children in a Jibaro family is generally great, partly of course owing to the existence of polygamy. The Jibaro man wants to have as many children as possible and it may happen--although of course only in exceptional cases--that he has ten children from the same woman. He is rightly of opinion that richness in wives and in children means richness in general, and that it adds to the power of the family and the tribe. He appreciates female children just as much as male children; both are in their way equally useful, and for the same reason he has, as we have seen, no objection to the birth of twins, against whom the Jibaros have not the same prejudice as most other Indians of Western Amazonas. If nevertheless the Jibaro tribes have constantly diminished, this is due to particular reasons, partly to the great mortality of Indian children in general in the first years of life, partly to the wars of extermination carried on between the different Jibaro tribes. The contact with the white race not only indirectly promotes a diminution of the Indians, but seems to have a direct, unfavourable influence upon nativity. This we may infer from the fact that in the families of the Canelos Indians the children are as a rule far fewer than among their savage neighbours, a state of things that can be observed almost everywhere in South America."

1: Karsten--233 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847, 837 (1928-29)

"That abortion is not unknown to the Indians has appeared from my previous statements, but it is naturally most commonly practised by unmarried women. A Jibaro would not normally allow his wife to practise abortion. It only takes place in exceptional cases, for instance when a woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to an enemy tribe, or when marriage has been in some way unlawful so that there is the danger of the future child being a monster (pasúna, nētsi).

Abortion is among the JIBAROS effected by mechanical treatment at a comparatively advanced stage (probably in the third or fourth month of pregnancy). An older woman grasps the pregnant woman from behind round the waist and gradually presses out the foetus. The operation is said to be very painful and I was told that sometimes it happens that the woman dies from this radical treatment. Besides this, the Jibaros in such cases have recourse to the same harmless operation with the hen's egg by which they try to facilitate delivery: a medicine-man makes the woman swallow the contents of the raw egg which are poured directly into her mouth. Poisonous drugs are not used for the purpose by the Jibaros, but this, on the other hand, seems to be the case among the CANELOS INDIANS. They prepare a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called petun cara, and give this decoction to drink to a woman who wishes to rid herself of the consequences of sexual relations outside marriage."

1: Karsten--234 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861 (1928-29)

"It is evident from what has been stated in previous chapters, that in regard to the Jibaros we can speak of a real education of children. From the very moment of the child's birth--nay, even before it is born--its physical well-being and normal development is constantly kept in view by the parents, and later systematic instruction is begun, the general aim of which is to make the young man or girl capable of properly performing the various duties incumbent on a full-grown man or woman in society."

1: Karsten--234 [2]
116, 262, 784, 852

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The first period in the education of the child, . . . . is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

1: Karsten--234-235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 862 (1928-29)

"The 'feast of the children' is called Uchiáuratai or Uchiáuka. Uchiauratai (áur-atahei) is literally: 'I will give (the child) drops of tsinsimba'. The very name indicates that the medicine prepared from the plant tsinsimba, which was given to the child immediately after it was born, also plays the most important part at the 'feast of the children'. As we have already seen, the leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva by the old man or woman who acts as a priest or priestess; this medicine has a particular name: ambára. It is ceremonially dropped into the child's mouth twice during the two days that the feast proper [235] lasts, early in the morning and at noon. Drinking manioc-beer and eating also form part of the 'feast of the children'. Its general significance is the same as that of other great feasts: mysterious powers above all power to resist evil spirits--are believed to be imparted to the young child, not only for the time being but especially for the future. This power is chiefly due to the magical properties ascribed to the tsinsimba plant itself, but naturally also to the saliva of the old man or woman, the incantations, etc. After it is over the father is no longer obliged to diet, at least not so rigorously as hitherto, and the child is allowed to eat any kind of food. It definitely ceases to be a sucking-child and is henceforward reckoned among the bigger children."

1: Karsten--235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 854, 751 (1928-29)

"Since children are always delicate and liable to fall ill the Indians try to protect their sucking babies by, among other things, different amulets consisting of animals' teeth and claws, 'medical' collars of fragrant seeds, shells etc. Still more common is prophylactic body-painting with roucou mixed with certain other ingredients, and accordingly called karawira, áratinyu, etc. Since small children are very liable to fall ill through witchery, the parents generally take care not to show their babes to strangers visiting the house, lest they should be harmed by the 'evil eye' or in some other mysterious way. As a rule the Indian woman never leaves her sucking babe alone in the house when she goes out, but takes it with her wherever she goes, carrying it at the breast if it is quite small, on the back when it is a little bigger. Thus when she goes to the manioc plantation to fetch manioc she nearly always has her babe with her, carrying home both the heavy basket with manioc roots and her child."

1: Karsten--235[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 754 (1928-29)

"When the first teeth of the child get loose, they are not thrown away but carefully kept on the roof of the house 'in order that the rats or other animals may not eat them'. This custom is due to the belief in a mysterious connection between the child and the detached teeth."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

1: Karsten--236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 841, 276 (1928-29)

"When the first signs of puberty appear, an important epoch in the life of the Jibaro girl begins. As among all Indians, menstruation is looked upon by the Jibaros as a mysterious process, and when it appears for the first time in a girl various precautions are considered necessary. I have mentioned before that the Indians ascribe menstruation to the moon (nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her'), which is also believed to have a mysterious influence upon conception. The first menstruation is called numbuén (from númba, 'blood') and generally appears when the girl is about 8 to 10 years old. When the mother realises what is the matter with the girl she at once takes her down to the river, where she washes her with a big leaf called yambáki. She has now to submit to certain taboos for four days. She is not allowed to pass the nights in the house, but sleeps in a small shelter specially made for her in the plantation in the neighbourhood, whither she is accompanied in the evening by the other women. While in the shelter, she can eat or drink nothing except tobacco water, which is given her in repeated doses by an old woman. The girl, however, is not obliged to stay there during the day. As soon as the sun rises she can leave the shelter and return to the house where she spends the day, but she is obliged to diet strictly. At the same time a small drinking-feast is arranged. Several piningas with manioc-beer are placed in a row; among these there is a small one containing only the 'cream' of the beer and a piece of manioc. This pininga is for the tsángrama, as the girl is called. She is allowed to eat nothing during the four

1: Karsten--236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 881, 841, 276 (1928-29)

days except this small quantity of manioc, and she is considered so taboo that she can touch no objects in the house with her hands. In the evening, as usual, she has to go to the shelter where she again receives tobacco water from the hands of the old woman, and so on. The tobacco medicine is supposed to fill her with power and to protect her against evil spirits who are attacking her, but it is also calculated to produce dreams for her, since the Numbuén, feast has reference at the same time to the girl's future obligations as a housewife."

1: Karsten--236-237 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881 (1928-29)

"If the girl is not betrothed, no further feast is arranged for her. On the other hand, if she has a fiancé, the appearance of the first menses is, for the latter and for the girl's parents, a sign to start preparing the great feast Noa tsangu which has already been described. As I have stated, it is at this epoch that her education properly begins, being supervised by her future husband and carried on very methodically. The [237] girl accompanies her mother and other older women everywhere, especially to the plantations, and is constantly receiving instructions from them as to how the manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, earth-nuts, and other roots and plants shall be planted and tended. At home she takes part in all those occupations which are incumbent on a married woman, and when guests arrive and the women of the house step forward to serve them nihamánchi, the young girl is always one of them."

1: Karsten--237 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 841 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the first menstruation of girls, we must add that at the following menses too a Jibaro woman is always taboo to a certain extent. She has to diet, abstaining from eating meat, and contenting herself during the days of menstruation chiefly with mashed manioc and plantain (*nauma*). She is likewise sexually taboo, her husband avoiding her during these critical days. Much the same rules are observed among the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--237[2]　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro
116, 861, 562　　(1928-29)

"We now have to say a few words respecting the education of the boys, to which the Jibaros attach even more importance than to that of the girls. If one asks a Jibaro father what the education of his boy aims at, he will in most cases answer: 'That he may become a real man and a brave and skilful warrior'. Of this the young boys are constantly reminded in the speeches which the father at certain periods addresses to them every day, and which have special reference to the revenge they must take on the enemies of the family.

The art of warfare and all manly exercises in general, the ability to throw the lance, to bring down the animals and birds of the forest with blowgun and poisoned arrows, etc., the Jibaro boy acquires by associating with his father and other older men, his constant endeavour being to imitate the full-grown men and to do what he sees they do. When the boy is six or seven years old his father makes or buys for him a small blowgun with which he assiduously practises shooting, using unpoisoned arrows. With such arrows the boy easily shoots small birds which he immediately prepares and eats. Only after he has passed through the initiation and is received among the full-grown men is he allowed to use the arrow-poison."

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

"It has frequently been said that savage peoples, bringing up their children in complete liberty, never punish them for disobedience or faults committed. This may be true of many Indian tribes in South America also, but it would certainly be a mistake to hold such an opinion of the Jibaros. It is true that as a rule the boys seem to understand remarkably [238] well what tribal custom demands of them and easily accommodate themselves to the moral views of their people, but there may be exceptions to this rule. The treatment of mischievous boys who openly defy their parents, tease their younger brothers and sisters, break clay vessels, climb up on the roof of the house damaging the thatch, wring the necks of fowls, etc., is sometimes very severe. It is quite a common thing for a father to seize his disobedient boy by the neck and pour tobacco water into his nose or his eyes. Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. In more serious cases the following form of punishment is resorted to. A small shelter of palm leaves is constructed for the young offender at the bank of the river. Here he is obliged to stay for two days and nights quite alone, eating nothing; he is allowed to drink only water from the river. The strict fasting having in this way made him more tractable, he must finally take a dose of maikoa, the strong narcotic of the Jibaro Indians. The intention behind this radical cure of course is that the youth shall have the usual dreams and visions, see

1; Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

the arútama, the spirits of the forefathers, who will admonish him and instruct him as to what the custom of the forefathers requires of him as a member of the tribe."

1: Karsten--238-241 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881 (1928-29)

"Both *maikoa* and another narcotic medicine, tobacco, is however chiefly taken on another occasion in the life of the Jibaro youth, namely, when he is initiated into manhood at puberty, at an age of about 15 or 16 years. On this occasion one of the great feasts of the Jibaros is arranged, the one known under the name of *Kusúpani* and corresponding to the *Noa tsangu* of the women. The preparations for this feast are the usual ones: new plantations must be made, new domestic animals, swine and hens, must be bred, etc. It is natural therefore that these preparations should require a long time, and in fact, the feast does not take place until after the lapse of two or three years. During these years the young boy has to diet strictly, the rules as to what kind of food is forbidden to him being much the same as in other similar cases. Thus the flesh of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the hens, is forbidden to him, precisely because the object of the feast is in part to augment the numbers of these animals. Other animals which are taboo as food to him are the wild hog, the paca, concerning which certain superstitious ideas are held, the armadillo, and most birds of the forest. Nor is he allowed to eat big fish like the sheat-fish and the one called *wambi*; [239] he has to content himself with small sardine-like fish of the kind the Indians eat when they are dieting. If one asks the Indians what will happen if he infringes these rules, the answer is invariably that the object of the feast will not be attained, the crops will not grow well, the swine and the hens will not increase, the young boy himself will not become a man but will soon die, etc. Such being the consequences of ignoring the rules of diet, it is natural that the boy in whose honour the feast is arranged should conscientiously submit to them and do everything that custom demands of him. When we further consider that during some months previous to the feast he has to behave like a penitent, that he cannot even keep his long hair untied or wear the clothes and ornaments of full-grown men, that he is forbidden to go out hunting and to use lance and blowgun and poisoned arrows, we can understand that the very preparation for the feast is for the young Indian a remarkable exercise in privation and self-control.

The first day of the Kusúpani has the same name as the first day of all feasts: Utsándowai, 'the opening of the feast'. Early in the morning the invited guests enter the house in solemn procession, whereupon a drinking-bout takes place, which is followed by an ordinary meal. The principal ceremonies are performed on the second and third days, and they mainly consist in giving the novice tobacco in different forms and in repeated doses; the old man who acts as a priest (whuéa) makes him take tobacco juice, and he must inhale tobacco smoke. The priest has made a number of big cigars and attached them to a string at regular intervals from one another, the string hanging from one of the central poles of the house. Every time that he wishes to give the novice tobacco he takes one of the cigars from the string, puts it into a long tube of bamboo, and lights it, using the tube as a mouth-piece. He first draws the smoke into his own mouth and then blows it directly into the mouth of the novice, who has to swallow the smoke and is nearly suffocated. This is repeated several times until the whole cigar is consumed. Immediately after this the priest gives the novice tobacco in liquid form. For this purpose he chews the leaves carefully, spits them out, together with much saliva, into a maize leaf, blows some more tobacco smoke on it, and stirs the whole mass carefully with his finger, whereupon he gives it to the novice to drink. This ceremony is repeated six to eight times on each of the two days of the feast proper, and the strong tobacco medicine cannot of course fail to produce very powerful effects on the youth who receives them on an empty stomach. In the narcotic sleep which [240] will follows, [sic] and in the visions provoked by the drinking of maikoa, with which the feast will end, the novice will see both the arútama and other spirits, who give him advice and information concerning his future.

Among some Jibaro tribes the old man, when blowing smoke, does not use any bamboo tube; he places the burning end of the cigar in his own mouth and the opposite end in the mouth of the novice, blowing vigorously, and the novice has to swallow the smoke.

The Kusúpani ends, like all feasts, with the slaughter of the swine; the novice is ceremonially dressed and painted with genipa, and lastly comes the solemn drinking of the manioc-wine, whereupon the guests leave. After the feast is thus ended, the novice still has to undergo a concluding ceremony which is rather of a private nature: the drinking of maikoa. This at any rate is the custom among the Upano and Santiago tribes, who celebrate the Kusúpani feast. The drinking of the narcotic generally takes place in the house, but if the youth wishes, he may go to the forest. In the first case all weapons, knives, and dangerous objects are removed so that the youth, in his narcotic condition, may not do any harm. The oldest man in the family prepares the drink in a pininga and gives it to the boy to drink, having muttered an incantation over it. The old man also takes care of him after he has become intoxicated. The effects are soon visible: the old man seizes the narcotized boy from behind with both arms and holds him in this way until he falls asleep. The boy incessantly shouts: tuh, tuh, tuh, tiga, tiga, tiga, as if he were summoning the demons. The old man, again, tries to hasten the coming of the favourable visions by frequently repeating the following words: Tu puhústa, kanárta, wuimekta, aha ista, mama ísta, pa'ándama ísta, kuchi ísta, atáshi ísta, muitsa ísta, nihamánchi ísta, and so on, that is: 'lie down, fall asleep, behold (in visions), behold fields, behold manioc, behold plantains, behold swine, behold hens, behold manioc pots, behold manioc-beer!', etc. Thus both of them, the old man holding the boy with his arms from behind, stagger to and fro in the house, until at last the narcotized boy completely loses consciousness. But even during sleep he has to be

1: Karsten--238-241 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 881 (1928-29)

watched attentively because the supposed visions often make him start up out of his sleep and he frequently even becomes violent.

If the novice goes out in the forest the old man accompanies him, gives him tobacco water, makes him take a bath in a waterfall, and then prepares the maikoa in the shelter, looking after him when the effects [241] of it begin to appear. They remain in the forest for three days and nights.

Great attention is, of course, paid to the dreams of the Jibaro youth because in a way they decide his whole future. It is the business of the oldest men of the family to interpret them and to state whether they have been good or bad. The question as to what kinds of dream are regarded as 'good' or 'bad' and the kinds of vision seen will be discussed in the chapter on divination."

1: Karsten--241-242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 276 (1928-29)

"Among the Achuares of the Pastaza the initiation into manhood consists only in drinking maikoa. When the boys attain the age of puberty, which means that they are received among the men and warriors, are allowed to marry, and so on, the following drinking-ceremony takes place. The oldest men of the family or tribe arrange themselves in two parallel rows facing each other. Each man holds a pininga containing a small quantity of maikoa. The novice must now go from the one to the other in due order and take a sip from each pininga, starting with the oldest member of the family. Generally it is easy for him to do this with the first ones, but frequently it is impossible for him to drink from the clay vessels of the last men in the rows. Their contents are then given him in the form of a clyster, the maikoa quantity being injected into his rectum by means of a tube (nángu) consisting of the hollow stem of the zanahoria plant (Daucus). It is considered absolutely necessary, it should be understood, that the novice should receive something from the clay vessel of each man.

When the young man has finished drinking the oldest man says to him: 'Do you know now why you have drunk maikoa? 'Yes', the youth answers, 'it is in order that I may become a real man and a brave warrior and that I may be able to marry.'

When the effects of the narcotic manifest themselves in the Jibaro youth and he begins to behave in a foolish way or threatens to become violent, the old man seizes him by the arm, restrains him, and says to him: 'Don't you remember that you have taken

1: Karsten--241-242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 881, 276 (1928-29)

maikoa, what do you intend to do, where are you going?' Then the youth tries to control himself and sits down.

After the lapse of some weeks or months the novice must again drink maikoa in the same way as before, some time later for the third time, and after the lapse of the same period for the fourth time. It is not until then that his noviciate ends and he is allowed to marry.

I have related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaros, and I have [242] now to add a few words as to the significance of the Kusúpani feast, especially as far as the tobacco rites are concerned. The significance of these rites is essentially the same as that of the tobacco ceremonies performed at the feast Noa tsangu. The spirit of tobacco is conjured and its wonderful power is transferred to the boy, who will be filled with it not only for the moment but for many years to come, nay, for his whole life. This power will automatically show itself in all the work and occupations incumbent on him as a male member of society. He will be a brave and successful warrior and be able to kill many enemies; he will be skilled in managing the lance and the blowgun and bring down much game in hunting; he will be dexterous in spearing the big fish and in catching small fish with varvasco poison. But this is not all. The spirits who appear to him in narcotic sleep are believed to teach him such matters also as normally concern directly

1: Karsten--241-242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 881, 276 (1928-29)

only the women, above all as regards the breeding of domestic animals and the cultivation of the fields. This also explains the fact that the newly-initiated Jibaro youth is for some time the adviser of the women in the work and occupations which properly belong entirely to the female domain. Just as the feast Noa tsangu and--as we shall presently see-- the great victory-feast, so the Kusúpani among other things is believed to have the effect of 'increasing the swine and the hens' (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu) and of favourably influencing the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--243-245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 512, 276 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros begin their day very early, about 3 o [sic] 4 o'clock in the morning, when the crowing cocks announce that a new day is dawning. The house-father is the first who gets up and wakens the other people in the house, especially the women. He arranges the logs forming the fireplace, and blows upon the embers so as to revive the fire. The first thing he does is to prepare his tobacco water. For this purpose he places a small clay pot (yukúnda), half-filled with water, on the fire and puts some tobacco leaves into it. After the water has boiled for a short while, it is allowed to cool somewhat and he then pours a little of its contents into the palm and draws it in through his nose, allowing it to flow out through the mouth. This is repeated three or four times. The tobacco medicine, taken in the early morning, is supposed to have a wonderful power of clearing the head and preserving from disease and witchcraft. Then follows a similar procedure with the guayusa solution. The leaves of this important tree, which grows wild everywhere in the Ecuadorian forests, are likewise boiled in water, and the decoction is appreciated as a tonic and as a purifying medicine. The Indian washes out his mouth with it and sometimes drinks a small quantity, throwing it up afterwards. While the tobacco or the guayusa is boiling, the house-father is generally seen doing some work. He may sit down at the distaff to spin for a short while, or at the loom to weave, or cut arrows, etc. [244]

Meanwhile he considers it is time for his house people to get up too. He shouts in a loud voice: tsaráwi, tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, nandákta, (i. e. 'it is dawning it is

1: Karsten--243-245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 512, 276 (1928-29)

dawning, get up, get up!'). These words are particularly addressed to the wives sleeping in the women's department, but at first they seem to pay no heed to them. After a while therefore the husband again repeats his *tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta*, and later a third time. Gradually the women awake, get up, and start to work, their first task being to bring the house father his usual *nihamánchi* (manioc-beer). Meanwhile the younger men in the house, the unmarried sons and the sons-in-law, have assembled at the fire-place and all drink the manioc-beer brought by the women. It is now about 6 o'clock in the morning.

At certain times, and especially if the family is threatened by enemies, the house-father, while he is cooking his tobacco water and guayusa, not only awakens his house-people but also delivers a sort of speech to them in which he reminds his sons and sons-in-law of the outrages committed by this and that enemy against the family in former times, and exhorts them to prepare for revenge. The essence of this speech, which is repeated for days and weeks in much the same form will be related in the part dealing with the wars of the Indians.

About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. This food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (*ekínturu*) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department.

After the 'breakfast' the day's work begins. If the weather is fine, the men take their forest knives, lances, and blowguns and go out, some to hunt, others to work in the forest or in the fields; the majority of the women leave for the plantations carrying their baskets and their small babies on their backs. In the middle of the day therefore a Jibaro house is generally almost empty, some old man or woman and some of the bigger children being the only occupants. If a man has several wives, however, one of them as a rule stays at home to look after the house.--All stay away until about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when they return one after the other, the men usually carrying with them some animal or birds which they have brought down with their blowguns, or fish [245] caught in the river, the women carrying heavy baskets full of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other fruits. It is not until at 4 or 5 o'clock that the second meal of the day is eaten. While out of doors the Jibaro has generally only drunk the manioc-beer he took with him in the form of fermented manioc substance wrapped in banana leaves.

If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc. Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterized as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros.

The Jibaros generally pass the evening conversing, drinking manioc-beer, and doing some unimportant work in the house by the light of the fires. After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night. Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

"There is hardly a day that the Indians do not receive guests of some kind. In fact, the reception and entertainment of guests fills a good deal of their time and forms a side of their social life which especially attracts the attention of a white visitor. There is a certain difference in the reception, according as the visitors are known to the inhabitants of the house or are complete strangers, but in either case certain ceremonies are considered absolutely necessary. Strangers must announce their arrival by a loud signal when they approach the house, in the way I had to do myself for instance when I visited the Achuares.

If the visitors are friends of the owner of the house or at least known to him, they can enter without further notice. Generally three or more come together; seldom does an Indian pay a visit alone. The guests always come armed with lances, guns, or rifles, and the arms are always taken into the house. When staying in a strange house the Jibaro Indian [246] is never separated from his weapons. This is considered perfectly

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

natural by the hosts and does not arouse any particular attention. (1)

As soon as the visitors enter, each of them pronounces the word: *Winyáhei*, 'I have arrived', whereupon they remain standing motionless at the door in a row. Then generally some of the younger boys step forward and hand a small seat (*chimbúi*) to each of them. They now sit down at the door with their lances stretched out, but do not utter a word. The host of the house at first pays little attention to the guests, but calls out to the women to bring them manioc-beer and starts to arrange his dress. He plaits his long hair in the usual three pigtails, puts on his ear-tubes, paints his face, and puts on

---

"1. It is surprising to find, in G. M. Dyott's book *On the Trail of the Unknown* (p. 180) the following passage: 'On one of my expeditions a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare.' Everybody who has travelled among the Jibaros knows that this statement is the very reverse of the truth. According to local custom it is perfectly natural that all weapons should be taken inside, and I myself and my companions always took our rifles and guns into the Jibaro houses we visited."

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

a new itípi. Then he seizes his lance, steps up to the guests, takes a seat and sits down in front of them, saying the one word Winiti, i. e. 'may you come'. This for the guests is the 'word of release'. They now start to speak, one at a time, as they are addressed by the host. The speaker explains the aim of his visit, adding that besides this he wanted to see his friends, how they live, whether they are healthy and all right, etc. As long as the guest speaks it is not considered proper for the host to interrupt him except by certain grunts representing assent or approbation, and with confirming words like ita (yes)--ah--um--turáma ('so you have done')--ah--níkasneiti ('it is true') --máketi ('quite so'), etc. After the guest has finished, it is the host's turn to answer him, the guest only listening and interrupting, as his host had done, by the usual grunts of assent. This conversation lasts for five to ten minutes and must be carried out with each guest separately. Only after the last guest has been greeted in this way and had an opportunity to speak, can all of them leave the door and freely move about the men's department.

The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests part each of them has to address the host in a short speech, the essence of which is always the same and has been related before in connection with the Indian feasts. Generally they address other members of the family too, and other persons staying in the house, with a word answering to our 'Good bye'. This word is Weáhei, 'I go', to which is generalby [sic] added the word Puhústa, 'May you sit down', 'May you stay here in peace'."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--248 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 562 (1928-29)

"Women have no particular greeting ceremonies when they come or go. Still at the great feasts I noticed that parting women took leave of the hostess by fanning her gently on the arms and shoulders with a big leaf, at the same time blowing and spitting on these parts of her body. The hostess returned these expressions of affection which, I was told, are customary at leave-taking among the Jibaro women."

1: Karsten--248-249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 576, 609, 521 (1928-29)

"Ceremonial greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out certain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, 'Who are you?'
Wétei (Andicheiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Amínyu wikáhei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunái --waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

1: Karsten--248-249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 576, 609, 521 (1928-29)

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichám̃a wikáhei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wáriki, wáriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Seása itáhei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itáhei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Seasa, akáru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Maketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 592, 577 (1928-29)

"Social sympathy and the feeling of solidarity is quite strong within the family and the sub-tribe, the members of which are united by the blood-tie. For instance the close relation between two brothers, and the duties arising therefrom, has already appeared from the custom of levirate, and will be further illustrated in connection with the institution of blood-revenge. Still, even within the family conflicts sometimes arise, it may be on account of the women or the dread of witchcraft, and in a few cases may lead to bloody tragedies. Fights may also arise at the drinking-feasts. In general, social sympathy has not developed among them those extreme forms which it assumes among the more primitive Chaco Indians, where it has led to a sort of practical communism or socialism, at least as regards food; but the Jibaros, supporting life with ease with their own work, are not dependent on one another to the same extent. We have seen for instance that great hospitality is shown to such strangers as are regarded as friends; but this hospitality is not, so to speak, a natural virtue, but a matter of etiquette, or more strictly speaking, a custom forming part and parcel of Indian 'diplomacy'. Ownership is strictly respected: everybody in the house, not only the family-father but also the wives and the children, have their private property--mostly consisting of ornaments of some kind--over which they have full control. Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 592, 577 (1928-29)

variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilised and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--251 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 565, 621 (1928-29)

—"Since there exists no society in the strict sense of the word apart from the family, it is natural that social classes, distinctions between fich and poor, etc, are also non-existent, like the distinction between rulers and ruled. If we may speak of a 'government', it is a purely patriarchal one, the head of the family and the owner of the house being at the same time the 'chief' of this small community, theoretically even with absolute power. It is of particular interest to see how he exercises this power in practice."

l: Karsten--251-252 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 847, 851 (1928-29)

"According to the primitive view prevailing among most South Ameri-[252] can tribes newborn infants are the exclusive property of their parents, who therefore have the right to kill them if they choose. Thus infanticide exists both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, although it is restricted to the more or less exceptional cases I have mentioned before. The former frequently put the child to death when the woman has become pregnant by a man belonging to a strange tribe; but above all monsters and deformed children are made away with directly after birth, i.e. children which among the Jibaros pass under the name of pasúna. We have seen that such children are often believed to be born as the result of unlawful marriages and that they are ascribed to mysterious demoniacal influence. In these cases consequently infanticide is due, not to the lack of parental feeling, but to pure superstition. Such a child, according to their opinion, is in fact not a human being at all, but a demon whose appearance in the tribe is regarded as extremely unlucky. The birth of a pasúna is one of the cases where not only the individual family but the whole sub-tribe is concerned; epidemics and general misfortune may be the consequence of it. Among the Canelos Indians it is the same with twins, of which, as I have stated, the second is always killed as being a supai huahua, 'the son of a demon'.

That infanticide is not due to the lack of parental feeling is evident. Even the savage Jibaro father is very fond of his children and takes care of them in every possible way,

1: Karsten--251-252 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 847, 851 (1928-29)

subjecting himself even to considerable privations for a long time for the sake of a newborn son. The customs practiced in connection with the birth of a child at Canelos show that these Indians also constantly have the welfare of their young children in view."

1: Karsten--252-253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 888 (1928-29)

"The position of old people, and more particularly of old men, is of special interest. How the power of a man increases with age appears nowhere more clearly than in the Jibaro society. We have frequently noticed that at the great feasts the ceremonies are always conducted by some old man or woman (generally called whuéa and oháha) who, for instance, have to administer the juice of tobacco and other medicines taken on these occasions. The great victory feast, described in the next part of this work, will give us further instances of it. It is difficult to define more closely the true nature of the 'power' which, according to Indian belief, is increased in man with increasing age, and which explains the respect paid to old people and especially to old men. It is natural that, owing to their experience of life, they represent the wisdom of the tribe, just as they are the sole authorities on religion as well as on [253] custom. But 'experience' to the Indian means something more than to civilized man; it means mysterious magical or supernatural power. Every action of an old person, experienced in a particular sphere of activity, has therefore special emphasis, and every important rite or ceremony at a feast must consequently be performed by such aged persons, specially elected for the purpose. Even if an old man is not a professional medicine-man he is, according to Indian views, always more or less versed in magic. This to him means social influence and authority, or at any rate secures for him respectful treatment, although he may be physically decrepit and unable to work. Thus both the Jibaros and the Canelos

1: Karsten--252-253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 888 (1928-29)

Indians believe that old men may, after death or even in their lifetime, appear in the shape of jaguars, anacondas, or other formidable or dangerous animals and in this disguise punish their relatives for neglect of duty. --The peculiar view that the Jibaros have about old men will be referred to again in connection with their war chiefs."

1: Karsten--253-255 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"Some words may be added as to the position of the women. Those few writers who have touched upon the social position of the Jibaro woman have described it in that biassed and erroneous way which has been the rule especially among missionaries when they have dealt with the position of women in savage societies; she is nothing but an oppressed slave, without rights, and hardly regarded as a personality at all.(1) The truth is that the married Jibaro woman is not only completely independent within her own sphere of activity, but exercises a remarkable social influence and authority even in matters which mainly concern the husband. It is interesting to state in this respect that a family-father never sells fruit or other articles of food without the consent of his

---

"1. It is difficult to give a more incorrect idea of the position of the Jibaro woman than Rivet gives in the following words: 'Méprisées par leurs mari elles ne sont que des esclaves destinées à le servir, à préparer le chicha et les aliments, à filer et à tisser le coton, à cultiver le chacra qui entoure la maison.' (Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 59). The ignorance of the customs of the Jibaros upon which this statement is based may be inferred even from the fact that spinning and weaving ('filer et tisser') are occupations exclusively incumbent on the men. A similar erroneous account is given by Vacas Galindo in Nankijukima, p. 121 sq., who was probably Rivet's authority."

1: Karsten--253-255 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

wife. There are, I think, few civilised societies where the man so unfailingly asks his wife's advice, even in unimportant matters, as among these savages. It occurred very frequently during my travels in the forest that I paid visits to the Jibaro houses to buy manioc or bananas, and received from the 'autocrat' of the house the answer: 'I must first ask [254] my wife.' Frequently the wife happened to be absent for the moment and then the answer was: 'Wait a while until my wife arrives.' I saw that there was a store of manioc and bananas in the house, and it would have been an easy thing for the man to give me immediately what I wanted to buy; yet he compelled me to wait for a long while, perhaps for hours, only to be able to ask his wife's permission to make the insignificant bargain. Still one can understand this consideration for the housewife when articles of food are in question. Since the wife is the keeper of the food and is responsible for the existence of a store sufficient for the needs of the family, it is natural that she should also be allowed to decide how much of it can be given to strangers. But her influence seems to be about the same in other matters. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when I tried to find an Indian to go with me on a certain journey, I frequently received the same answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.' On one occasion a middle-aged Indian at Canelos had already given me a half-promise to accompany me on a long journey by canoe. The definite arrangement depended on the assent of his

1: Karsten--253-255 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

wife. When later he asked her, however, she made objections, the result being that the Indian finally declined to enter into my service. When a thing, however insignificant, was to be bartered, the women always wished to have a voice--and their decision was generally final. It might seem natural that the men alone should have the right to decide, for instance, respecting feather ornaments and other ornaments which they themselves make and only they use, things which in fact are always regarded as strictly personal property. Still even when trying to barter for such ornaments I frequently received the usual answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.'

Such instances unquestionably make the theoretical 'autocracy' of the Jibaro husband appear in a somewhat curious light.

It would therefore be a great mistake to infer, from the cruelty with which adultery is often punished, that the Jibaro women are generally badly treated by their husbands; the very reverse is the rule. Of the relations between husband and wife in the Jibaro family it may be proper to say that it is regulated according to the principle: 'The man governs, but the woman holds sway.' That the Jibaro woman is by no means a slave to her husband but is able, when the situation requires, to maintain her independence, appears for instance from the following incident which I witnessed on my last journey among the Indians. The wife of my old friend Angoasha, Yanua by name, had gone out to the [255] fields to fetch fruit with the younger women. When they returned late in the

1: Karsten--253-255 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

evening, they were received with reproaches by Angoasha because he and the other men were running short of manioc-beer and the women had not arrived in time to brew any more. But Tanua who had been working hard the whole day was not disposed to accept any blame which in her opinion was wholly unjustified.

'Brew manioc-beer for yourself', she called out in indignation. 'Who would clean the fields and who would carry home the manioc, the sweet potatoes, and the earth-nuts if we women did not do it?'

'Why must the women always brew the manioc-beer?' asked one of the younger women. 'The men themselves may do it; then they will not be dependent on us'.

Angoasha answered nothing, probably because he realized that the objection was justified."

1: Karsten--255-256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"That conjugal love and affection also exist among savages like the Jibaros, I was frequently able to confirm myself. Thus even young girls of 8 or 10 years seemed to be most tenderly attached to their husbands or fiancés, who were many years older than themselves. When I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians they sometimes took their wives with them, especially to carry the fermented manioc substance, indispensable on all their journeys. On these occasions I had an opportunity to witness how my Indian baggage-bearers took care of their wives on the way, helping them to wade across the rapid streams and to climb the steep hills.

It may perhaps still be objected that the division of labour is unfavourable to the Jibaro woman, the heaviest work being incumbent on her. Precisely this assumption must be termed erroneous, as ought to be sufficiently clear from my previous statements. Thus the heaviest work in agriculture is no doubt the rough work, the felling of the giant trees and the removing of the trunks, as well as the clearing of the ground. This work, which requires great bodily strength, is always--among the Jibaros as among other Indians in Western Amazonas--performed by the men. Agriculture in the proper sense of the word, the sowing and planting, the clearing of the land, etc., is work that must be done by the women. The latter have also to carry home the fruits they cultivate--though not the plantain which is cultivated by the men--and it must be admitted that the baskets containing manioc are frequently very heavy. The big trunks and other kinds of material required for the constructing of houses, on the other hand,

1: Karsten--255-256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

are always brought by the men, [256] like the heavy logs of chonta wood used as fuel in the houses. As a general rule it may be stated that the heaviest work in the Indian society is done by the men, whereas occupations requiring less physical strength or more adapted for the weaker sex are incumbent on the women. But whatever the division of labour may be, it has nothing to do with the 'egotism' of the men and their desire to oppress the weaker members of the community.

The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of bloodguiltiness, *e. g.* --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance.

The high esteem which the Jibaro woman enjoys cannot, however, be properly understood unless we realize that it has, so to speak, its foundation in the Indians' view of the world. When describing the 'feast of the women' I mentioned the mysterious influence

1: Karsten--255-256  (1916-18) 1935  Jivaro-3
116, 562, 593  (1928-29)

a family-mother is believed to exert upon all those departments of life where she is active, an influence which is increased by artificial means. Only a woman can act upon the female spirit of the manioc plant so as to make it produce an abundant crop; cultivated by a man it would yield but a meagre harvest. Only under a woman's care will the swine and the fowls increase and thrive, and the hunting-dogs become able to trace the game. With no education by a prudent and skilful mother, the sons and daughters would hardly grow up brave men and intelligent family-mothers. The man who does not own a good wife, properly initiated during the 'feast of the women', will soon find himself deprived of the necessaries of life, nay, will see his whole household ruined, however well he may have been provided in the beginning with fields and domestic animals. Hence the extraordinary importance and the great social influence of the Jibaro woman."

1: Karsten--259 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 181 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are no doubt at present the most warlike of all Indian tribes in South America. The blood-feuds within the tribes and the wars of extermination between the different tribes are continuous, being nourished by their superstitious belief in witchcraft. These wars are the greatest curse of the Jibaros and are felt to be so even by themselves, at least so far as the feuds within the tribes are concerned. On the other hand, the wars are to such a degree one with their whole life and essence that only powerful pressure from outside or a radical change of their whole character and moral views could make them abstain from them. This one may judge even from the fact that from a victory over his enemies the Jibaro warrior not only expects honour and fame in the ordinary sense of the word but also certain material benefits. The head trophy which he takes from his slain enemy is not merely a token of victory, but becomes a fetish charged with supernatural power, and the great victory-feast itself with its many mysterious ceremonies in fact forms a part of the practical religion or cult of the Jibaros.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house,' etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

1: Karsten--260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 787, 276, 726 (1928-29)

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1: Karsten--261-262 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 362, 712 (1928-29)

"That the Jibaros are professional warriors also appears from the way in which they construct their houses and from the defensive measures to which they have recourse when particularly threatened by their enemies. The houses themselves are constructed with great care, and as we have seen, even in times of peace are provided with walls of strong chonta poles. When a family is particularly threatened by enemies the house is fortified in a special way. On the outer side of the ordinary wall another wall is made, consisting of big chonta stems, so that the house has two walls, one close to the other (Pl. X, 3, 4). Within the houses, all along the walls, a number of small rooms or partitions, about 1 meter in height, are likewise made of chonta poles, each having a small hole in the outside through which the warrior can shoot his attacking enemy. There is one such small room for each defender of the house. The partitions will afford the warrior protection in case the enemies are able to penetrate into the house. As to the doors, there are two in each Jibaro house, one at each end of the house, one for the men, the other for the women. These doors generally consist of six chonta poles, the upper ends of which are united by means of strong lianas, while the nether ends are free and can be separated from each other, three to each side, making an opening of triangular form. The whole opening is so small, however, that only one man at a time with some difficulty can enter the house. During the night the poles forming the doors are always carefully closed and fastened by a transverse pole applied to the inner side,

1: Karsten--261-262 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 342, 712 (1928-29)

so that the entrance of undesirable persons is made impossible. Even the outer wall in a fortified house has a special door consisting of similar poles, which can be closed from the inside.

Not only the houses themselves but also the manioc and banana plantations situated close by are protected in a similar way by high fences [262] of strong chonta poles. The aim of this arrangement is to prevent the enemy from approaching the house through the plantations.

Formerly, before the use of firearms was so general among the Jibaros as it is now, the chiefs especially were in the habit of constructing a sort of war tower at one end of their houses. These towers were of quadratic form and sometimes 20 or 30 meters in height. On the top of it there was a small room about 4 meters in quadrate and with walls about 1 meter in height, made of strong chonta poles, which protected the defender against the lances of the enemies. The whole thing rested upon pillars of the stem of the chonta palm, and the warrior ascended along a stair consisting of wooden logs with incisions which gave him foothold. These war towers were called kumbinta. After the Jibaros began to make use of firearms in their wars these measures of defence proved less fit for the purpose, and consequently were no longer used."

1: Karsten--262-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116 712 411 (1928-29)

"It is still common among the Jibaros to arrange a kind of trap on the way which leads to the house and where one expects the enemy will try to approach it. One such trap consists of a round hole in the ground, about 1 1/2 meters deep and large enough for a full-grown man to fall into it. At the bottom of the hole three pointed sticks of chonta, resembling points of lances, are arranged in an erect position. These pointed sticks are called ashi. The part which sticks out from the earth has a length of about half a meter. At the surface of the earth the opening of the hole is covered with small sticks and leaves which makes it difficult or impossible for the enemy, creeping along in the darkness, to discover its presence before he falls into it. When he falls his feet are transfixed by the pointed sticks and he is not able to get out. Besides, the defenders of the house are often keeping watch at these holes, ready to dispatch the enemy when he is caught in them. The Jibaros call these traps mesértinyu whua, 'a hole of death'.

Another kind of trap, which likewise is arranged on the narrow path leading to the house, is the following: it consists of a small tree, growing close to the path, which is bent down; or of a big branch of a tree, one end of which is fixed in the ground so that with the latter it forms an angle of about 30°. To the upper end of this branch eight pointed chonta sticks are attached in such a way that they form as it were a comb. The branch is bent back like a bow against a couple of poles fixed in the ground for the purpose, to which it is attached by means of a strong liana in a certain ingenious way that

1: Karsten--262-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 712, 411 (1928-29)

cannot be fully described in words. Across the path a few inches over the ground another liana is stretched [263] and tied at one of the poles just mentioned. Between this liana and the liana holding the bent branch there is such a connection that when the foot of the enemy touches the former, the bow is released, and the comb with the pointed chonta sticks will strike him with terrible force in the face or the chest. The liana stretched across the path is sometimes covered with leaves in order that the enemy may not notice it, but besides, even this weapon is calculated to operate mainly in the darkness, since the attacks are nearly always made at night. The trap described (Fig. 7) is called tambunchi by the Jibaros and singbraru by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians.

Whereas the tambunchi has been used by the Jibaros since ancient times, the following defensive measure is of modern origin. Across the path along which the enemy is expected to come a blackened string is stretched at such a height that it is level with a man's chest. At the tree where one end of the string is fastened a charged and cocked rifle is tied, with the barrel fixed in the direction of the string. The end of the string is fixed in such connection with the trigger of the rifle that when the enemy, coming along in the darkness, gives it a push, the shot is discharged and is likely to hit him in the chest. Even if he should [264] escape being hit, the shot would warn the inhabitants of the house that enemies are approaching."

l: Karsten--264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 181, 722 (1928-29)

"All these precautions in their way illustrate the almost maniacal suspiciousness and dread of enemies which dominates the Jibaros. The mere discovery of mysterious footprints in the neighbourhood of the house, left by unknown Indians who apparently have gone sneaking about at night, may cause an indescribable excitement in the inhabitants. The footprints are carefully examined for the sake of ascertaining from what tribe they originate, message is sent to neighbouring houses, where further inquiries are made. 'We have found such and such footprints near our house, they are not like the feet of anybody from our own tribe, no one of our relations walks in that way, they must originate from strangers, may be of that and that tribe. Have you noticed anything exciting suspicion in the neighbourhood of your house or seen any strange Indians?', and so forth. Assuming that the mysterious footprints might possibly have been left by enemy spies who are planning an attack against the house, the inhabitants continue their inquiries with the energy that the Jibaros generally display when an important enterprise is in question, and take measures of defence."

1; Karsten--264 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 534, 722, 202 (1928-29)

"The big signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, also plays a part in the wars, although originally it seems to have been a purely religious instrument. At times when there is fear of an attack of enemies it is placed outside the house on the hill, and the beats may then be heard at a distance of several miles. The drum tundúi is beaten when the Jibaros drink the narcotics maikoa and natéma--in which case the object is to summon the spirits that inhabit these sacred drinks--also after a death, and lastly to give friends notice of an attack by enemies. In the latter case the signalling consists of a series of short and fast beats at a time which is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. When the friends in the other houses hear these beats they say: Pakinmawae, 'they are killing'. Hence this whole mode of signaling is called Pakinmawae. As soon as the inhabitants of a house get knowledge of or suspect the presence of enemies, and also during the attack, if there is time for it, they try by beating the tundúi to summon their friends for rescue, and the singalling may sometimes cause the enemy, fearing the arrival of help, to give up his evil intention and take flight."

1: Karsten--264-265 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 177 (1928-29)

"The principal weapons of war of the Jibaro Indians are the lance (nánki) and the shield (tandara), the former being used for attack, [265] the latter for defence. Nowadays the Jibaros, besides these weapons, also commonly use firearms (akáru) received from the whites, generally in exchange for a human head (tsántsa). The lance should be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, if possible the kind of chonta cultivated by the Jibaros (called ui). The head is of prismatic shape and with the shaft forms a single piece. Formerly the Jibaros also used lance-heads made of the leg-bones of the jaguar or the bear, which were fitted into shafts of chonta, or shafts made another kind of wood and painted red with the paint called yukáipi. These lances were moreover frequently adorned with showy parrot feathers. Lances adorned in this way are no longer encountered anywhere, but on the other hand those provided with iron heads and shafts of yukáipi are not seldom seen. A special power is ascribed to the chonta lance owing to the belief that the spiny chonta palm itself is a demoniac tree, the seat of a spirit (wakáni or iguánchi). The chonta lance therefore inspires not only men but also spirits and demons with fear. Hence at the Tsantsa-feast the head-trophy is always kept tied to a chonta lance at those moments when it is not needed for the ceremonies."

1: Karsten-~265-266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116 411 262 (1928-29)

"The shield (*tandára*) is made of the enormously big air roots of the giant tree which is called *kámaka* by the Jibaros and *llanchâma* by the Indians of Canelos (*Bombax ceiva*), a kind of wood which has the advantage of being at once light and strong. It is always round in form and wrought of one single piece, although the shields are sometimes very large, 80 to 90 centímetres in diameter. Just as is the case at the making of other important objects, the Indian has to observe certain rules of abstinence while he is making the shield, work which of course requires a lông time. During the days that he makes the rough work he partly fasts, especially abstaining from eating batatas or sweet potatoes (*Convolvulus batatas*), called *inchi* by the Jibaros. If he eats this fruit, the shield will mould, rot, and become useless. This superstition is due to the fact that the sweet potato has the same appearance as mouldy or rotten wood. During the same days the maker likewise abstains from cohabiting with his wives, for if he has intercourse with a woman the shield will get warped or burst, and consequently spoiled.

The CANELOS INDIANS, at the making of the shield, formerly observed the following rules. The rough work was carried out in four days. The Indian worked every day from early morning until noon. During the whole forenoon, until the work was finished for that day, he fasted and did not eat or drink anything. As soon as the work was finished at noon [266] he had chincha (manioc beer), and in the afternoon he could also eat other kinds of food. While working upon the shield he observed the rule not to speak

1: Karsten--265-266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 411, 262 (1928-29)

to anybody, but kept strict silence. Nor did he, during the four days and nights, cohabit with his wife. If he infringed these rules the shield would get lumpy or burst, or be attacked by mould.

As soon as the shield is made it is often painted on the outside with the black dye obtained from the genipa fruit, called sua by the Jibaros. The patterns represent spirits (wakani, supai), giant snakes (pangi, amárun), butterflies (wambishku), and other animals. These patterns are supposed to inspire the enemy with fear and to give strength and courage to the warrior himself. Nowadays such ornamented shields are no longer made and seldom encountered in Indian houses. A unique shield of this kind which I obtained from the Jibaros is now in the ethnographic museum of Gothenburg.

The Jibaros use shields of two kinds. Some are very large and somewhat heavy and are used only for defence within the house. The shield rests against the ground or against a round seat of the kind the Jibaros use, and the warrior with his lance tries to defend himself against the enemy penetrating into the house. Other kinds of shields are smaller and lighter and are carried by the Indians on war expeditions.

The shield of the Jibaro Indians is not only a weapon of defence, but also a religious instrument, a fact that everybody who takes part in their victory-feasts is able to establish. The tandára is full of magic power, and when is [sic] is beaten with the lance in a particular way, this is in fact a sort of religious or magical ceremony which is

1: Karsten--265-266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 411 262 (1928-29)

believed to inspire the spirits--first of all the spirit of the slain enemy--with fear. The ceremony referred to is called Yáktinyu."

1: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 713 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros never use blowpipes and poisoned arrows in their wars, but only for hunting. They believe that if they kill a man with a poisoned arrow that poison will no longer do for killing an animal or bird of the forest. Besides, it seems that the poisoned arrows are not regarded as a sufficiently effective weapon to fight men with. The Indian, when killing his enemy, desires to inflict as large wounds and to shed as much blood as possible, a fact that explains his predilection for the lance as a weapon of war."

h Karsten--267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
616, 622, 701, 627 (1928-29)

"The dignity of a chieftain is hereditary in a relative sense, in so far that the son of a chief is generally elected chief in time of war after his father has died or grown decrepit. This, however, can only take place if he has proved a valiant and skilled warrior and has killed enemies. No Jibaro is selected as a chief if he has not killed at least one enemy. The Jibaros have absolute faith in the heritability of prominent qualities, and ascribe extraordinary importance to education and the power of example. The son of a great chief, they say, must necessarily also become an able warrior because he is, as it were, a direct continuation of his father, has received a careful education for the deeds of war, and has always had the good example of his great father before his eyes."

1: Karsten- 267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 592, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

1: Karsten--267-268 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"The authority of the chief elected for a war is very great. It is he alone who arranges everything for the expedition planned, who decides [268] about the time for and the mode of making the attack, and the younger warriors oblige themselves to obey him in everything. But as soon as a war has been carried to a successful end the power of the chief ceases, and he has, in spite of the great repute he always enjoys, no more authority or right to decide about the doings of his tribesmen than any other family-father among the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--269-270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 627 (1928-29)

"Since supposed sorcery is nearly always the nearest cause of murders within the tribe, it is clear that the professional sorcerers or medi-[270] cine men are those members of Jibaro society which are most frequently exposed to the revengeful attacks of their enemies. As a matter of fact, in large Indian societies sorcerers are very often assassinated, or at least threatened with death, by their enemies. When a medicine-man has undertaken to cure a sick person and the latter dies in spite of the treatment, the 'doctor' is also generally made responsible for the death, the relatives of the dead reasoning that the medicine-man, instead of curing the patient, on the contrary used his art to kill him. The unsuccessful curer is therefore murdered unless he escapes by flight. Since the Jibaros, on the whole, do not recognize what we call a natural death but always attribute a death to supernatural causes, any death among them tends to give rise to a murder, the relatives of the deceased considering it as their duty to take revenge upon the supposed author of the accident."

1: Karsten--270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 887 (1928-29)

"....among the Jibaros the professional medicine-men are not the only persons who know about sorcery and witchcraft. Most old men, and especially the chiefs, are more or less initiated in the art."

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (sungura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

1: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627. 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116 775 152 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc.,--we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1: Karsten--272-274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 672, 627, 828 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

1: Karsten--272-274　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro-3
116, 672, 627, 828　　(1928-29)

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

1: Karsten--274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 672 (1928-29)

"When a murder committed by tribesman is to be avenged, the social morality of the Jibaros requires that the punishment shall be meted out with justice, in so far that for one life which has been taken only one life should be taken in retaliation. Thereupon the blood-guilt is atoned for (tumáshi akérkama) and the offended family is satisfied. Consequently, if a Jibaro Indian wishes to avenge the murder of his brother, it may well happen that he, if the slayer himself cannot be caught and punished, will assassinate his brother or father instead of him, but he does not take the life of more than one member of the family, even if he has an opportunity of killing more. If he, for instance, killed not only the murderer himself but also one of his brothers, this would awaken indignation in the whole tribe, and it would be considered just that the family thus offended in its turn should take revenge. The blood guilt in such a case has passed to the original avenger. This principle, which requires that there shall be justice in the retaliation so that life is weighed against life, in itself of course has a tendency to limit blood-revenge. It happens, however, in many cases, and especially when supposed witchery is in question, that the person accused of the crime does not admit the guilt, but asserts that he and his family are innocently persecuted by the relatives of the dead. If then he or a member of his family is murdered, his relatives try, in their turn, to take revenge, and so on, in which case the blood feud tends to become prolonged indefinitely."

1: Karsten--274 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 602 (1928-29)

"Though, as we have seen, among the Jibaros blood-revenge takes place with regard to members of the same sub-tribe, this is not so when a crime is committed within the family. Among these Indians it sometimes occurs that a man kills his brother, if the latter, for instance, has seduced his wife or bewitched one of his children. But in this case blood-revenge is not generally taken, inasmuch as the natural avengers--that is, the father and the remaining brothers--abstain from carrying it out. 'It is enough that one member of our family has died,' they say, 'why should we deprive ourselves of one more?' The slayer is consequently pardoned. The absence of blood-revenge in a case like this is due to the natural sympathy which the avengers feel for the slayer, as well as to the consideration that by killing him they would only harm themselves, by weakening the power and influence of the family."

1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (*tsantsas*) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (*winya eintsu*). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

1: Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would, gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 619 (1928-29)

"Often the hostility between two tribes is only latent, becoming suddenly active through some chance incident, when a war ensues. Thus, as already mentioned, a series of deaths, which are attributed to the evil art of the treacherous enemy, may occasion a war. It also occurs that an Indian, travelling through the territory of a foreign tribe, with which his own stands on no friendly terms, is assassinated by the secret enemies of his own people, who cannot abstain from taking the opportunity. Such an assassination may be the signal for a general war of extermination between the two tribes. This was, for instance, the original cause of the war which, during my sojourn on the Rio Upano, was carried on between some tribes of the Upano and the Santiago on one side, and the Huambiza Indians on the Morona on the other. The son of an influential Indian on the Rio Santiago had, on account of some old quarrel, been murdered while travelling through the land of the Huambiza Indians. The tribesmen of the murdered Indian applied to the Jibaros on the Upano for assistance. The assistance was given, some 40 Upano Indians going down the river to join their friends on the Santiago and marching with them against the Huambizas."

1: Karsten--277-278 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas the small feuds within the sub-tribes have the character of a private blood-revenge, based on the principle of just retaliation, the wars between the different tribes are in principle wars of extermination. In these there is no question of weighing life against life; the aim is to completely annihilate the enemy tribe, all members of which form one organic whole and are animated by the same feelings and mode of thought. The victorious party is all the more anxious to leave no single person of the enemy's people, not even small children, alive, as they fear lest these should later appear as avengers against the victors. As already pointed out, it is also solely in such wars against foreign tribes that trophies are made of the heads of the enemies killed.

The wars of the Jibaro Indians are thus in their nature nothing but wars of revenge, and never aim at territorial conquests. The Jibaros, [278] in reality, fear and detest the country of their enemies, where secret supernatural dangers may threaten them even after they have conquered their natural enemies. The sorcerers of the hostile tribe may have left their witching arrows everywhere, on the road, in the forest, in the houses, with the result that the invading enemies may be hit by them when they least expect it. The land of the enemy is therefore abandoned as soon as possible. Besides, the Jibaros who inhabit endless virgin forests, where they can make new settlements almost anywhere have no need to conquer the territory of other tribes."

1; Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 754 (1928-29)

"When among the Jibaros a family father, especially a chief or a great warrior, dies, and a medicine-man, by drinking natéma, has established not only that death has been caused by witchcraft but also who the wizard is, it is incumbent on his nearest male relations, and first of all on his sons, to take revenge on the supposed assassin. At the death-bed of the father they make a solemn promise to fulfil this duty. Often the sons alone carry out the sanguinary business. If the sorcerer has many supporters they join the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased. Sometimes the conspirators also ask the advice of the chief of the tribe, but the latter generally does not take part in such a private feud unless he has some personal interest in it."

1; Karsten--279 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself. 'That sorcerer who has bewitched your father you will conquer and kill'. Or they say: 'If you make war against that sorcerer now, you will not succeed in killing him, but you will be killed yourself.' In the latter case the avenger desists from his plan, at least for the present. Again, if the answer is favourable, he with his followers makes the last preparations for the attack."

1: Karsten--279-280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Such an attack is sometimes planned and carried out in the greatest [280] secrecy. Sometimes, and more frequently, the victim is threatened beforehand, the avenger letting him know what fate is awaiting him. He may then save himself by quickly fleeing to another part of the country. But it may happen that he sends his enemies the following menacing challenge: 'I have been told that you intend to assault and kill me. All right; you may come if you have valour. I do not fear you, and I am ready to receive you.' Such resolute behaviour may cause the enemy to desist from the planned attack or to postpone it to another more opportune time. Among the Jibaros there also exists the following custom, through which the Indians try to inspire the enemy they want to kill with fear. Of a piece of manioc the likeness of a human head in miniature is formed, which is supposed to represent the enemy threatened. This head is put on the top of a stick, and the stick is fixed in the ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy's house. This procedure is supposed to have some power of promoting the plans of the avenger."

1: Karsten-- 280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276 (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

1: Karsten--280-281 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628 (1928-29)

"The attack is carried out in different ways, depending on the circumstances. Sometimes the victim is attacked in his house at night, sometimes while he is working outside or travelling. In the former case the assault is made a little before dawn, at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. The Jibaros begin their day very early, and the family father is the first who gets up. Since it is difficult or impossible to force the entrance, the enemies generally avail themselves of the opportunity when he opens the door to perform his necessary duties. At this moment they rush upon him and kill him with their lances. If they are armed with guns or rifles and the house is not especially fortified, they creep along to the wall and through an opening in it try to give the sorcerer the death-dealing shot while he is sitting at the fire preparing his tobacco water or his guayusa. Having accomplished the deed, the assassins quickly steal away, leaving the rest of the inhabitants of the house unmolested.

It is, however, easier to kill the enemy while he is outside the house, [281] working or occasionally wandering in the forest. The conspirators beforehand carefully inquire about the movements of the intended victim, and ambush a place along the path where he has to pass. This place is generally one where some natural obstacle appears, consisting of a small rivulet which the sorcerer has to wade across, or of a swamp where he is obliged to go slowly. Sometimes they also put up along the path some of the secret signs which the Jibaros use as road marks, or to give friends indications as to the direction they ought to take. When the sorcerer arrives here, he stops to

1: Karsten--280-281 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 628 (1928-29)

examine what the mark means. At this moment the enemies rush forward and pierce him with their lances or shoot him to death. The dead body is left lying on the path or is thrown into the forest.

Naturally it also happens that the sorcerer is able successfully to defend himself, nay, even to kill his assailants. The sorcerers are nearly always also warriors--a fact quite natural on account of the danger of their profession--and always go armed, one threatened by his enemies, of course, being especially on the alert."

l: Karsten--281-282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 784 (1928-29)

"On the return from such a feud the avengers have for some time to observe certain rules of precaution with regard to their mode of life. The restrictions laid upon them are, however, much milder than those a Jibaro has to observe after he has killed an enemy of a foreign tribe, and essentially consist in fasting and sexual abstinence. During the two first days the slayer or slayers must abstain from drinking manioc beer (nihamanchi), the national beverage of the Jibaro Indians. His food consists of boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma, or of another kind of root fruit resembling the manioc, called sangu by the Jibaros and mandi in the Quichua language. He likewise eats a dish prepared of manioc and the leaves of the plant sangu, called ambi. He is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, as well as the flesh of the large wild hog (unta pakki), and of any kind of monkey. On the other hand, he is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the small rodent agouti (kayúka). He eats only the small birds of the forest which are killed with the blowpipe and nonpoisoned arrows. He eats only the smallest kinds of fish living in the rivers, a kind of sardine, and small shellfishes (chumakaí, sháchma). This diet is continued for two or three months. During the first month after having killed the sorcerer the Jibaro is likewise forbidden to sleep in his house, and passes his nights in a small ranch made on the bank of the river. After the lapse of the month he goes to a natural small waterfall (paccha or sasa) and takes a cold bath, letting the water fall on his naked [282] body. After this purification he returns to his home and may sleep in his house, not with his wife, but in the

1: Karsten--281-282 (1916-18) 1935 Jibaro-2
116, 628, 784 (1928-29)

ante-room or department of the men (called tangámasha). This sexual abstinence is observed as long as the fasting, namely, for two, or, among some Jibaros, three months. If the rules mentioned are infringed by the slayer the soul of the killed enemy, who constantly follows him thirsting for revenge, will take his life."

2

l: Karsten--282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas this blood-revenge within the tribe is most often carried out simply through assassinations, the feuds fought out between the different tribes are naturally on a larger scale and with more reason deserve the name of 'war'. In all his feuds, however, the Indian, if possible, avoids open fights, having recourse to treachery, assassinations, and sudden, generally night attacks. But if a real combat and hand-to-hand fighting ensue, the Jibaro warrior often displays both valour and contempt of death, a fact that is fully proved by the history of the Indians. Not to take flight, not to abandon his comrades in such a situation, but gallantly to meet the enemy with lance and shield, is the ambition of every real Jibaro warrior, and, as we have seen, the education of the boys from the beginning aims at imparting to them the qualities necessary for such behaviour."

1: Karsten--282-283 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 622, 726 (1928-29)

"The general expression of the Jibaros for a war, and more particularly one that is fought out against a foreign tribe, is *meséta*, and to make war is *nanki hukítinyu*, literally 'to carry lance for the combat'.

When a whole tribe, or perhaps several tribes together, prepare a war against one or more other tribes, the first thing done is to elect a common chief. He should be an elderly, experienced man, who has taken part in several wars, killed many enemies, and celebrated at least one victory feast. The rest of the warriors, who are generally younger men, swear him unlimited obedience. During the time the expedition is planned and the preparations are made, the warriors, and especially the chief, repeatedly drink *maikoa* or *natéma* to consult the spirits. They pay great attention to their dreams, even to those not produced under the direct influence of the narcotic drinks, tell them to each other, and discuss their possible significance. Only if they believe that they have received favourable answers and all omens are good are measures taken to carry out the war plan conceived. Meanwhile they try, through spies, to acquire as accurate a knowledge as possible about everything concerning the enemy: how many houses there are in the tract, how many fighting men in each house, if the houses are fortified, if the [283] men are well armed, and especially if they have firearms. All these and similar details the spies investigate by making trips into the country of the enemy and by stealing at night to the houses. Everything is prepared

l: Karsten--282-283 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 622, 726 (1928-29)

with the greatest secrecy possible, so that the enemy is caught unprepared, for otherwise he will have time to take measures of defence that may defeat the whole undertaking."

1: Karsten--283-285 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726 (1928-29)

"About a week before the warriors start for the expedition they assemble every night in the house of the chief, who develops the plan of the war, gives his men the necessary instructions, exhorts them to take courage, not to fear the enemy, not to abandon their comrades, etc. Part of these instructions are given during the war dance or exercise with the lance, which is called Enéma or Anékma (the corresponding verb is enemártinyu or anekmáktinyu). Enéma is a dialogue between two warriors, who through certain movements of the body, and especially of their lances, give emphasis to their words. Enéma with the lance (or with a rifle) takes place not only as a preparation for war, but also, for instance, when two Indians, who are unknown to each other, suddenly meet while travelling in the forest (Pl. XXV, 1) or when unknown guests arrive at a house. The one party then has to find out who the newcomer is, if he comes as an enemy or as a friend, from where he comes, where he is going, what business he pursues, etc. The conversation all through has a ceremonial character, and menacing movements with the lance accompany each word or phrase.

The dialogue at the Enéma is rather stereotyped, the words being always about the same and being repeated several times. The following is the Enéma conversation among the tribes of the Upano, Morona, and Pastaza:

Enemártahei, 'Let us speak loudly!'

Chichama hustai, 'Let us speak words!'

1: Karsten--283-285 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 726 (1928-29)

Warita kunai, 'What are we going to say?'
Waru irúrtai, 'Let us quickly assemble!'
Tumáshi akérkatai, 'Let us avenge the blood-guilt!'
Kashini kanártai, 'To-morrow we will sleep far away.'
Waru nikápsatai, 'Let us quickly take our enemy!'
Waru, chíchamahúomo, 'Quickly, before he is told about it!'
Unta nu, 'So says the Old One (the chief):'
Waru wakítketai, uchitai, 'Let us go, to return quickly, youths!'
Húomokki, húomokki, 'Quickly, quickly!' [284]
Manyáhei, 'We have been fighting!'
Mahei, 'We have killed!
Tumáshi ayambruamákahei, 'We have revenged the blood!
Muka tsupiktai, 'Let us cut off the head (of the enemy)!'
Hukitai, 'Let us carry it with us!'

Enemártinyu (enemártahei) means 'to speak in a loud voice,' which is consistent with the fact that the Indians do not speak in an ordinary voice but shout while carrying out the Enéma conversation. Each phrase is strongly contracted in the pronunciation, so as to consist only of two to four syllables, which naturally makes the conversation entirely unintelligible to one who does not know the words. In return, the phrase thus

1: Karsten--283-285 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
*116*, 726 ( 1928-29)

contracted is repeated twice, corresponding to the movements of the body. Thus, for instance, the beginning of the conversation:

*Chichama hustai*,
*Warita kunai*,
*Waru irurtai*, etc.

assumes the form:

*Chamurstai*, *chamursti*,
*Waritkunai*, *waritkuni*,
*Warurtai*, *warurti*,

and so on.

At the beginning of the conversation the two warriors face each other, each having the lance resting on the right shoulder. They speak by turn. The Indian speaking pronounces the phrase in a loud voice, holding the hand over the mouth. With the right arm, upon which the lance rests, he simultaneously makes a movement as if to give emphasis to the words, but he does not, in the beginning, swing the lance and does not move from the spot. Again, at the second repetition or the latter part of the conversation the following movement takes place. The Indian who is to speak takes one step toward his opponent, beginning with the left foot, simultaneously raises the right arm with the lance and lets it fall vibrating down on the shoulder; immediately thereafter he goes back to the original position, at the same time again swinging the lance over his shoulder. This whole series of movements is performed quickly and at one time, accompanying the phrase pronounced: charmurstai-charmursti, etc. One of the conversing Indians having several times repeated this movement with its corresponding phrases, he stops and stands still, the other one then speaking. The whole Enéma conversation lasts about ten to fifteen minutes. [285]

When a war expedition is prepared in which many Indians take part, Enéma is performed on a large scale. The warriors arrange themselves in two rows, one opposite the other, so that at the ceremony they converse in twos. If their number is, for instance, 40, 20 are arranged in each row. Enéma is then performed sumultaneously by all the warriors of one row, while those of the opposite row stand still with the lances on their shoulders, accompanying the movements and words of the other party with slight gestures of the arms. Having performed the Enéma for some minutes, the men of the first row keep silence and those of the second row speak, etc.

The Enema conversation, as we have seen, implies a mutual exhortation for war and the future course of the combat is gone through, in which naturally a successful issue of it is anticipated. It is clear that we are not here dealing with an ordinary exercise with the arms. The whole thing is a magical ceremony by which the Jibaros believe they are able to ensure victory over the enemy. By performing Enéma the Jibaro warrior is

1: Karsten--283-285 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 726 (1928-29)

supposed to get strength, courage, and confidence for the coming fight. The war dance is, moreover, believed to enable him to escape the lances and bullets of the enemy in the combat. Besides, the enemy himself is thereby lulled into security so that he will not be aware of the danger threatening, but will be surprised by the assailants. Without Enéma preparation no war expedition is believed to result favourably. Hence also, when a house is assaulted by enemies at night, its defenders hurry to perform Enéma with each other before they go to meet the intruding enemy.

About 1 o'clock in the night, when the new day is supposed to begin, the warriors assembled in the house of the chief start to perform Enéma, which they continue until the break of day. This is repeated every night during one week."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 533 (1928-29)

"Besides this war dance, the Jibaros try to secure victory over the enemy by a kind of war song. This war song, which is called Anéndrata, is sung by the warriors in the house before they start on the expedition.

The Anéndrata runs as follows:

Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Winya úchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kákarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika misérchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'

---

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 726, 933 (1928-29)

Yamai achikahei, 'I have him already!'
Manyasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Watski, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'
Winyasha mandoáti, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoáma asea, 'If he kills me,'
Uchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'
Anéndrata has much the same magical significance as the war dance enéma, it being believed to give victory over the enemy."

1: Karsten--286-287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726 (1928-29)

"The warriors, moreover, prepare for the expedition by drinking much manioc-beer (nihamánchi), as they do for all big journeys, without, however, getting too drunk. They likewise take much tobacco, partly in the form of tobacco water, which is drawn in through the nose, partly in the form of cigars, which are smoked.

The preparations of the men take place in the large ante-room of the house (tangámasha). The women the whole time remain in the interior department (department of the women, ekinturu) and do not mix in the activities of the men. The Jibaros on the Upano told me they do not even take leave of their wives before they start on the expedition. If the chief has a wife who is particularly attached to him she may, however, come out, embrace her husband, weeping, and say: 'Perhaps you will be killed by the enemy and never return.' The chief then consoles her, saying, 'I have had good dreams; I won't be killed, but will return with the heads of my enemies. Meanwhile stay you here, quietly making clay vessels'.(2) [287]

The Jibaro chief Nayapi, on the Rio Pastaza, told me that among his people the warrior, starting on an expedition, takes tender leave of his wife, embracing her and

---

"2. As if she were already making preparations for the coming victory feasts. The making of clay vessels is the principal preparation of the women for all feasts.

1; Karsten--286-287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 726 (1928-29)

consoling her, but at the same time preparing her for the eventuality that he, perhaps, will never return and never see her again."

1: Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

1: Karsten--287 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726 (1928-29)

"The warriors march from the house of the chief in a single row, going one after the other, and strictly observing silence. The chief goes out last and shuts the door. During the whole journey to the scene of the war, a journey that takes several days, sometimes even weeks, the warriors are allowed to speak only when necessary, and even then not in a loud voice but in a whisper. Only the chief has the right to speak in a loud voice when at the camping places he gives his men the necessary instructions. As soon as the warriors arrive at the place where they propose to camp that night they arrange themselves in two rows, keeping silence. The chief walks along the rows and gives his instructions, exposes the details of the attack planned and, above all, tries to dispel fear from the young warriors and to inspire them with courage. Although on the march to the war the chief no longer drinks maikoa or natéma, he still pays great attention to his dreams and from them tries to derive favourable presages. Thus he may with the following words try to inspire his people with courage and confidence: 'Take courage and don't fear, for I dreamed this night that I saw the great eagle (unta pinchu) and the tucan (tsukánga). They told me that we are going to take a wakáni (a soul). You are not going to die; you are going to be victors and to kill your enemies.'"

1: Karsten--287-288 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 714 (1928-29)

"On the eve of the day fixed for the attack the warriors arrange their dress. The Jibaro always pays great attention to his dress and his orna-[288] ments, which form a part of his personality, and at the feasts the dressing has a ceremonial character.

When the Jibaro warrior prepares for an attack against an enemy he puts on his head a sort of cap made of monkey's skin, which he prefers to the ordinary head ornament made of parrot or tucan feathers (tawása). The ear-tubes ought to be as large as possible so that their ends nearly reach the shoulders. Around the neck the warrior wears a necklace of jaguar's teeth and round the waist the usual cincture of human hair (akáchu). Old warriors, however, for an attack prefer to cincture themselves with a broad belt of the skin of the great boa. The uncovered part of the body, the face, the breast, the back, the arms, and legs, are finally painted black with genipa (sua).

The hair is divided into the three usual pigtails, and they are tied round with broad bands adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, or with cotton strings which are dyed red with roucu. The Jibaros on the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians, for a battle, are in the habit of tying round the pigtails or the hair broad strips of bast obtained from a plant which the former call chipyáta, the latter chilipanga. These strips of bast, which are of bright colour, are partly used as signs by which the warriors, in the darkness and in the heat of battle, are able to distinguish friends from foes, and are also worn because of some mysterious power ascribed to them or to the plant from which they are taken."

1: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

"In regard to the arrangement of the dress for war there are three objects which are kept in view. Partly, the Indian tries to make his whole appearance as terrifying as possible in order to impress the enemies; partly, certain pieces of clothing and ornaments which he puts on are, owing to some mysterious inherent properties, supposed to give him strength and courage; lastly, some of them will serve as marks of recognition, by which the warriors will be able to distinguish friends from enemies in the battle. The black body painting, for instance, serves all these three aims. More than anything else, it helps to give the Indian warrior a savage and terrible appearance. The Jibaros say that for a combat they paint themselves black in order to resemble the iguanchi (demons), which implies that the body-painting is believed to impart to them something of the savage ferocity and strength of these supernatural beings. Besides, even in semi-darkness it is possible to distinguish the black-painted Indian from one who does not wear that mark of recognition. The strips of bast tied around the pigtails likewise, as already indicated, partly enable the warriors to recognize their comrades in the battle, [289] partly are supposed to eke out that natural power which the Indian always ascribes to his hair and his pigtails. To impart strength and valour to the warrior is also the object of the ear-tubes, the necklaces of jaguar's teeth, and the belt of the boa serpent. 'Wearing our ear-tubes (arúsa), we do not fear anything,' the Jibaros are in the habit of saying. The teeth of the jaguar and the belt of the boa skin

1: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

naturally give the wearer something of the demoniac strength of these animals. Again, the power which the Jibaros attribute to the cincture made of human hair is due to the supernatural properties ascribed to the hair, which is regarded as the seat of the soul or the vital energy."

1: Karsten--289-290　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro-1
116, 726　　(1928-29)

"Having arrived at the tract inhabited by the hostile tribe the warriors, if possible, try to surprise and kill particular persons belonging to the tribe, who, unaware of the danger, happen to be outside the houses, working in the plantations or walking in the forest. The proper attacks are, however, according to the general custom of the Indians, made at night or early in the morning, a little before dawn. Keeping strict silence, the enemies surround the house and lie in ambush in the immediate neighbourhood of it, expecting that someone will come out and open the door. That person is then instantly killed by a lance or a rifle shot, whereupon the enemies speedily penetrate into the house and massacre the rest of its inhabitants. If it proves impossible to penetrate into the house by treachery, the enemies set fire to it by firebrands thrown upon its thatching, obliging the inhabitants to leave it and killing them during the confusion that follows. If in this way the assailants have been able to kill all the people in one house, and there is no fear of other Indians coming to the rescue, they may go to the next house and continue the massacre, for, as already pointed out, the wars carried out against foreign tribes always aim at completely exterminating the enemy if possible.

However, the enemy is not always in this way surprised and unprepared, and is not always annihilated without resistance. Thus the measures of defence described above, may, at least to a certain extent, frustrate the plans of the attacking party.

Not seldom the inhabitants of the house, through the dogs and the hens or in some

1: Karsten--289-290 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 726 (1928-29)

other way, get knowledge of the presence of the enemy, and the latter may then to his disappointment suddenly hear the beats of the great signal drums in the fast time which is a sure sign for friends that the people of the house are in danger. The assailants then have to choose between quickly retiring, or pursuing the attack and engaging [290] in a fight the result of which, owing to the possibility of help arriving, is uncertain."

1: Karsten--290-291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726 (1928-29)

"However, if the enemy [JKM: hostile tribe of warriors] has already surrounded the house, there is little hope for those shut up in it to be saved through the intervention of friends. Their possibility of salvation then consists almost solely in breaking through the besieging ring and speedily fleeing to another house or into the forest. Before making this desperate attempt, however, all inhabitants of the house, men, women, and children, assemble to perform, in haste, a certain dance. Holding each other by the hands they move in a circle in the house in the way customary at most Indian dances, chanting or making a noise and playing a set of flutes made of the leg bone of the jaguar, called *tungüi*. The words uttered, or rather shouted, are the following:

*Masteitimi*, 'They won't kill us!'
*Mandoástatami*, 'They won't take our lives!'
*Wuittatai*, 'They will retire!'
*Hinikitai*, 'We shall be able to escape!'

The object of this ceremony is to 'tire out the enemy' (*shuara pimbiktinyu*), so that he gives up the plan of attacking the house and retires. Sometimes it also happens that the besieging enemies who, of course, understand what the dancing and shouting in the house mean, lose courage, give up the plan of attack, and draw off.

Immediately after the dance mentioned has been performed the inhabitants of the house try to escape through one or both of its doors. As soon as the ambushing enemies

notice this, they incite each other with cries:
Shuara hiniwai, 'The enemy leaves the house!'
Awuimaipa, 'Don't let them escape!'
Ihúta, ihúta, ihúta, 'Lance them, lance them!'

During the ensuing fight it may happen that some or the majority of the people in the house are able to save themselves in the darkness and the confusion. Generally, however, some old man or some women, who are not able to run quickly enough, get into the hands of the pursuing enemy, being killed or captured. If the victors are satisfied with this spoil, or if for one reason or another they do not venture to continue the attack, they speedily retire, carrying with them one or more heads which they have cut off or some captured woman, and giving triumphant war cries:[291]
Hetéktatai, 'May they now pursue us!'
Aimiayáhei, 'Now we carry off their comrade!'
Yúhi, uyúhi, uyúhi!
Tuo, tuo, tuo! (War cries.)

It is, however, only if the attacked people have been surprised completely and know they are absolutely inferior to the enemy that they try in this way to save themselves by flight. In other cases it happens that the attacking enemy is received by a number of well-prepared and well-armed warriors who, after having in a hurry performed the

6

1: Karsten--290-291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 726 (1928-29)

Enéma, gallantly go out to meet the assailants. A fierce hand-to-hand fight then ensues, in which friends and enemies mix with each other in the darkness, and the noise of arms is drowned by the inciting war cries of the men, by the cries of the women and the children, and by the barking of the dogs."

1: Karsten--291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The victorious enemy wreaks his savage vengeance not only upon the fighting men, but also on old people, women, and small children, nay, sometimes even on the domestic animals. Although there are many statements--from the very time of the Spaniards--to the effect that younger women, and especially girls, are spared in the wars of the Jibaros, we must not take this to be the general rule. It is true that there is a scarcity of women in the Jibaro society and that in general they are held in great esteem on account of the work they do. But it must be remembered that the Jibaros are essentially endogamous, members of foreign tribes being detested and looked upon as natural enemies. Besides, experience has taught the Indians that full-grown women of a vanquished tribe cannot always be made to submit to a victor who has perhaps cruelly killed their husbands, fathers, or brothers, but that they retain an invincible hatred against him. There are, in consequence, instances of the wives of vanquished enemies being carried home by the victors only to be brutally massacred. Young girls can more easily be brought up to become loyal wives and members of the victor's tribe. Boys on the other hand are as a rule instantly killed. The Indians understand that a boy would not easily assimilate with the strange tribe and that, when full-grown, he is most likely to take revenge upon the vanquishers of his own tribe and family. Sometimes a victor may take boys of a vanquished tribe to his home merely to allow them to be killed by his own young sons, who thus will early be initiated into the bloody acts of war."

l: Karsten--291-292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 181 (1928-29)

"It may therefore be justly said that in their wars the Jibaros know no mercy. And although the Jibaro Indian does not particularly practise [292] methods of torturing his vanquished enemy, caught in a war, he on the other hand does not content himself with merely taking his life. He wants to shed as much blood as possible and delights in mutilating the body of the slain enemy, being especially anxious to secure his head. The scene of a battle between Jibaro Indians therefore generally offers a dreadful spectacle of a savage lust of destruction and thirst for blood."

1: Karsten--292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 775, 769 (1928-29)

"The lance, a terrible weapon of the Jibaros, inspires not only living men but even the spirits and demons with fear. The soul of an Indian killed with the lance in terror flees far away from the mutilated body and does not remain for some time in the neighbourhood, as is believed to be the case at ordinary death. The relatives themselves stand in such horror of the dead body that they only hurriedly bury it on the same spot where they find it, thereafter speedily leaving the place. The devoted cult which the Jibaros generally pay to their dead relatives is entirely lacking in regard to those killed in war, and food is never put on their graves."

1: Karsten--293-294 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

". . . the Jibaros never make trophies of the heads of such enemies as belong to their own tribe, that is, with whom they reckon blood-relationship. An Indian who did this would run the risk of being himself killed by his tribesmen, even by those neutral before. On the other hand, it is the rule that when a victory has been attained over a foreign tribe, the heads of the slain enemies are taken. Most Jibaro warriors would consider any victory over such an enemy incomplete, and the whole war expedition more or less a failure, unless they returned with one or several head trophies. Of course, it frequently happens that the Jibaro is able to kill an enemy but not to take his head, because his comrades are able to secure the dead body and perhaps to defeat the slayers. In such a case there cannot be a real victory feast. It happens, however, sometimes, that an enthusiastic Jibaro warrior invites his friends and celebrates a small feast, consisting in drinking bouts and dancing, although he has not been able to capture a trophy but only to kill his enemy.

Contrariwise, it may happen in exceptional cases that a Jibaro, although he has acquired a trophy, does not care to celebrate a feast with it, either because he considers himself too poor to procure the great supply of food necessary for the many guests at such a feast, or because he has not enough people in his house to prepare it or friends to invite to it. Thus the great Jibaro chief Nayapi, of Pastaza, had killed about 20 enemies, but had not celebrated a single victory-feast, evidently in part because his

1: Karsten--293-294 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

many enemies had not given him the peace and tranquillity necessary for preparing such a feast.

The rule is, however, among the Jibaros that a warrior who has captured a head (tsantsa) must celebrate a feast. The head feast for the Jibaro opens the road to honour and fame, to material wealth, to new victories over enemies, and a long life. It is the great mystery feast of [294] the Jibaro Indians; as will presently be seen, it has in part a purely religious significance, inasmuch as the Jibaro through the ceremonies then performed believes he acquires the same benefits as most other savage peoples try to acquire by different kinds of cult."

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"As soon as a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy of another tribe he at once tries to secure his head, which he cuts off as close to the trunk as possible. The warrior who has cut off the head (muka tsupikma) is the 'lord of the head' (muka héindinyu) and the first who, when the victors are many, has the right to celebrate a feast with it. When several Indians have together killed one enemy it is customary for each of them in turn to celebrate a victory feast with the trophy, which in this case is taken from one house to another.

During the speedy return which generally follows upon a successful attack there is not always time for the victors to at once begin with the preparation of the trophy. They first have to put themselves in safety lest the enemy pursue them. Thus it may happen that they carry the bloody head with them for a couple of days before they get an opportunity to 'skin' it (muka sukúrtinyu). In this work only those warriors engage who have taken part in the killing of the enemy. If the victors are many, and they have been able to acquire only one head, some of them may separate themselves from the rest, saying: 'We go off to kill other enemies and to capture our own heads.'

Those who remain now start to take off the scalp. First the following small ceremony takes place. The head is placed upon a large leaf on the ground. Upon the head is placed another leaf of the forest which the Jibaros call pingi muka, and to which certain magical virtues are ascribed. (1) The warrior who cut off the head now seats himself on this 'seat' and receives juice of tobacco mixed with saliva from the chief, who blows it in through his nose. Then another of the slayers takes his seat on the head and receives juice of tobacco through the nose, etc., until all have partaken. This is the first of a series of ceremonies which have for their object the protection of the slayers against the revengeful spirit of the killed enemy.

The tsantsa is now prepared in the following way. Along the back of the head, from the apex downward, a long cut is made with a knife, whereupon the scalp and the skin of the face is slowly and carefully drawn off from the skull, in much the same way as is done with the hides of [295] animals for stuffing. The skinning of the face is said to be the most difficult part of this work, for here the skin does not loosen by merely drawing it off, but has to be cut from the flesh with a sharp knife. The skull and all fleshy parts that adhere to it are thrown away and the scalp obtained is further prepared. It is attached to a vine and immersed in a pot of boiling water, where it is left for a while. By boiling the scalp it is freed from microbes, contracts a little, and thickens. It is then taken out of the pot and put on the top of a stick, fixed in the ground, where it is left for a while until it has cooled.

---

"1. Pingi in the Jibaro language means 'nice', 'noble', 'fine'."

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 (1928-29)

A ring is formed of a vine which the Jibaros call kapi, of the same size as the circumference of the finished tsantsa at the neck opening, and this ring is attached to the trophy, at first temporarily and later, as the latter assumes its final size by reduction, more firmly. By means of a needle and a thread consisting of a chambira fibre, that part of the scalp which, for the purpose of the skinning of the head had been cut open, is sewn together.

The reducing of the trophy should now begin. What is first done with it, however, has rather the character of some sort of magical ceremony. At the bank of the river three small round stones are looked for, which are heated in the fire. By means of a cleft stick one of the heated stones is taken up from the fire and put into the head through the opening at the neck. This is done by the first slayer (he who cuts off the head of the enemy), whose hand is held by the chief or an old warrior. The head is kept in motion so that the heated stone rolls to and fro within it, burning off a part of the blood and flesh which is still attached to the scalp. The stone is subsequently taken out and again put in the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third stone. The stones used are each time put back on the fire, where they are left.

Since a similar procedure is afterwards undertaken with heated sand, the use of the three small stones seems somewhat superfluous. Probably the object of this treatment is only to mortify the soul of the killed enemy attached to the scalp, and to keep it at bay. This explanation is made more plausible by the fact that the ceremony with three stones is repeated at the great feast, and obviously without practical aim.

The proper reduction of the trophy is brought about by means of hot sand. Some fine sand is taken from the river bank and heated at the fire in a piece of broken clay pot (hakáchi). When the sand is sufficiently hot it is poured into the head so as to more than half fill it. The [296] head is kept in motion so that the sand acts uniformly upon all its parts. The object of this procedure is to remove the flesh still attached to the skin, to make the scalp thinner, and to reduce the whole trophy. This is attained by the procedure with the hot sand being repeated many times. As soon as the sand has cooled it is taken out of the head, reheated at the fire in the broken clay pot, and again poured into the head. Each time, after taking out the sand from the head, the scalp is scraped inside with a knife in order to remove from it what the sand has burned off. As the trophy dries and shrinks through this treatment the head, and especially the face, is cleverly moulded with the fingers, so that it retains its human features, becoming like the head of a small dwarf. This work is continued while returning from the war, sometimes also at home, consequently for several days or even weeks, the same sand and the same broken clay vessel being always used. These things are always kept and carried on the march by the first slayer, whose duty it is, as soon as the party arrives

l: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727 (1928-29)

at a camping place, to place the clay pot on the fire and heat sand for the moulding of the trophy.

It is considered necessary that the sand shall be heated in an old broken clay pot. An entire clay vessel, or a piece of a quite new clay vessel would not do.

By this treatment the Jibaros are able to gradually reduce the head to such an extent that it is not larger than an orange, or about one-fourth of its normal size, becoming at the same time completely hard and dry. Through both lips, shrunk in proportion to the rest of the head, three small chonta pins, about 5 centimeters in length and painted red with roucu, are passed parallel with each other, and round these pins a fine cotton string, which is also painted red, is wound. At the great feast both the chonta pins and the cotton string are removed and replaced by three twisted and red-painted cotton strings. Lastly the whole trophy, even the face, is dyed black with charcoal.

During the whole work particular attention has been paid to the hair, which is the most essential part of the trophy. Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power.

The Jibaros of to-day, in cutting the enemy's head and skinning it, avail themselves of knives obtained from the whites, but formerly--in fact, only a few decades ago--

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 727 (1928-29)

native instruments had to be used for this [297] purpose. The head was severed from the trunk by means of a stone axe and a big knife of hard chonta wood. Again, in stripping the skin from the skull and the face they used snail's shells sharpened against a stone, and flat pieces of split bamboo (guadua) resembling knife-blades and extremely sharp. Such a native knife is still ceremonially used at least on one occasion, as related before, namely, when the navel-string of a newborn child is cut.

Since the tsantsa itself is an object charged with supernatural power, it is intelligible that many arrangements at its preparation are of a magical nature or are due to superstitious ideas of one kind or another. This holds good, for instance, of the ceremony with the three heated stones, described before. Likewise, the arrangement with the red-painted chonta pins, with which the lips are pierced, and the red cotton string wound round them, as well as the blackening of the trophy, hardly serve any reasonable practical purpose, but must be set down to pure superstition. Since the Indians ascribe a special, mysterious power to the hard wood of the strong chonta palm--a power further increased by the red paint--and red-painted cotton strings likewise play a part in their superstitious practices, it is more than probable that the real aim of the ornaments mentioned is to keep the soul of the murdered enemy under constant magical compulsion, perhaps also to paralyze the curses proceeding from the mouth of the victim. With the same view the tsantsa is at the feast generally held tied to a lance of chonta.

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 727 (1928-29)

The preparation of the head trophy requires great skill and care, for through some slight carelessness, for instance at the removal of the scalp, or at the burning, the whole thing may easily be entirely spoiled. The young Jibaro who has killed an enemy for the first time is therefore instructed in its preparation by an older warrior. Nor can an Indian prepare the head alone. Hence, when a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy alone and taken his head he needs the help of another man, at least for the skinning of the head. This assistant must necessarily be a warrior who likewise has earlier killed some enemy. Another Indian would not have 'a good hand' for the work and would not do.

The stronger the killed enemy has been in life, the more valiantly he has fought, the more difficult it has been to deprive him of life, the greater is the honour the victor earns by his deed, the greater is the power of the trophy made of his head. Notwithstanding this it sometimes occurs among the Jibaros that tsantsas are prepared even of heads of women."

1: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

"But the Jibaro Indian does not make trophies solely of the heads of his human enemies but also of the heads of certain animals. There is one animal especially which in this respect plays a curious part in the superstition of the Jibaros, namely, the sloth, called uyushi by them. Feasts with trophies made of the head of the sloth are among the Jibaros as common as feasts with human tsantsas. This fact derives it's explanation from the mythology of these Indians. In primitive times, the Jibaros say, all animals--quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and so on--were men, i. e. Jibaros. They had human shape, human habits, human thoughts and passions, and human language. They also waged wars against each other, and made trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, just as the Jibaros still do. Later on this kind of folk were changed into animals, the animals which still exist. The Jibaros still have a very vivid consciousness of their supposed relationship with the animal world, a feature which especially appears in their religion and their poetry. But they especially claim to trace the ancient human qualities in the sloth. This helpless animal, according to their idea, is a direct survival from the remote period mentioned. It is still a Jibaro in the shape of an animal, but a Jibaro of a foreign tribe and consequently an enemy. He is a very old man, as

1: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

one may judge from his slow movements and from the fact that his hair is partly gray. (1) The Jibaros even profess to know what his name was in ancient times, while a man. He was then called Unúpi, his wife's name was Unúchi, and brother's Uyúngra. When, therefore, the Jibaros meet a sloth, they kill it with a lance, just as they kill their human enemies, and make a trophy of its head. This trophy is prepared in the same way as a human tsantsa, but is only reduced a little, since the head of the sloth is comparatively small. It is no doubt in part the wonderful similarity of the sloth's head to a human tsantsa that has given rise to the superstition the Indians entertain about it. In the trophy made of the sloth the fell of the neck corresponds to the hair of a tsantsa. The fell of that part is therefore preserved and prepared with care. The Indian who has killed the animal has thereafter to pass through exactly the same purificatory ceremonies as one who has killed a human enemy, and even the final great victory feast is celebrated [299] in due time with exactly the same grand preparations and with the same carefully performed ceremonies.

"1. The superstition held of the sloth is partly due to the fact that the animal is extremely tenacious of life. This the Jibaros suppose to be the case with old people in general. When a Jibaro warrior has succeeded in killing an enemy who was an old man and whom it was very difficult to deprive of life, he regards the victory as a special triumph."

1: Karsten--298-299, (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

There are also instances of trophies having been made by the Jibaros of the head of the jaguar. Many years ago an Indian woman was killed by a jaguar in the neighbourhood of Rio Zamora. The Jibaros regard a jaguar, which in this way attacks and kills people, as the incarnation of the soul of an evil sorcerer which has entered that wild beast with a view to harming or killing his enemies. The Indians consequently resolved to take revenge, arranged a hunt of the animal, and succeeded in killing it. They thereafter made a trophy of its head, and a victory feast was celebrated in the ordinary way.(1)"

---

"1. It deserves to be emphasized in this connection that the trophies mentioned above are the only ones customary among the Jibaros. It has been alleged that these Indians not only are in the habit of shrinking the heads of their enemies, but sometimes prepare their whole body as a mummy-like trophy, and I have myself seen photographs of such trophies which are even said to exist in ethnographic museums in America. I beg to point out that all trophies of this kind are pure falsifications, wholly devoid of ethnographical value."

1: Karsten--299-300 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"In regard to the diet of the Jibaro warriors, there is nothing prescribed for the time they are preparing for and marching to the war. They may then eat whatever they like. But as soon as a Jibaro has killed an enemy the fasting begins. All those who took part in the killing of the enemy are, during the return home, allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called *nauma*. This food has to be cooked exclusively by the slayers themselves. No other man, and still less a woman, may prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, like the Jibaros generally do, but they use small wooden pins to eat with. Their hands having been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would become impure if they touched it, and they expose themselves to death.

Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or to wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Dirty and soiled with blood, as they departed from battle, they should arrive home. This, of course, also holds good for their clothing, their loincloth (*itipi*) and other clothes, as well as their weapons, the bloody lance with which the enemy was killed, and the knife with which his head was cut off. It is not until later, at the general ceremonial purification at home, that the warrior himself and his weapons can be washed. [300]

From the hour when the warrior killed his enemy up to the feast which is called *Suamártinyu*, and which is celebrated some months later/ he is not allowed either to *have sexual* intercourse with a woman or even to sleep in the same room as a woman."

1: Karsten--301-302
116, 727, 783

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Immediately after their return the victor or victors have to pass through the purification procedure, connected with a small feast, which the Jibaros call Numbuimártinyu (from númba, blood, and mártinyu, to paint, to coat), the principal ceremony of which consists in their legs being coated with hen's blood. If the victors are many, this ceremony is first performed with the one who cut off the head of the enemy, and thereafter in turns with each of those who took part in the killing. Before the victors, who travel slowly and stop at various houses on the way, arrive home, a message has been sent that the warriors are coming, that a head has been captured, and that preparations for the feast Numbuimártinyu shall begin at once. This feast therefore always has a more or less improvised character.

The first slayer stops in the house of some relations in the neighbourhood of his home until the trophy is definitely prepared. It is not until then that his solemn entrance into his own house can take place. He is in the dress of a penitent, has his hair untied, and wears no body-painting or other ornaments. At his side stands the chief or some other old warrior, who will lead the ceremonies at the following feasts and in this capacity is called whuéa. Behind these two men the rest of the warriors arrange themselves in a row. The whuéa first gives the slayer juice of tobacco through the nose. Thereafter the latter disengages the trophy from the cloth in which it has been wrapped up and with the aid of the old man hangs it round his neck, over the breast. Followed by the rest of the men, he now slowly and ceremoniously, and continually smoothing the hair of the trophy with the hand, proceeds toward the house, stopping outside the door. From within all the women come to meet him, arranged in a row and holding each other by the hands, all in festive dresses and with rattles of snail's shells round the cinctures. On each side of the women the men arrange themselves in two rows [302]inside the house. The introductory dance with the trophy which is called Ihiámbrama, and which is performed by the victor together with the women, now takes place. From among the women two step forth who have been standing at the head of the rest. Those are the wife and daughter of the victor. For the following dance the daughter grasps him from behind at the cincture with both hands; the wife gives him her hand, standing at the head of the other women. The slayer again seizes the tsantsa with the right hand, holding it up with the arm stretched out; with the left he grasps the hand of his wife. All now pass, dancing or hopping sideways, into the interior of the house, to the accompaniment of drums and the rattles of the women, and immediately return to the entrance. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice. Each time the slayer, led by the women, returns to the entrance of the house. The aim of this dance is to paralyze the danger threatening the victor from the spirit of the murdered enemy at the first entrance into the house, which is regarded as particularly critical (Pl. XXVIII)."

I: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"The slayer now takes off the tsantsa and the latter is tied to a chonta lance which is fixed in the ground close to the door on the inner side. The lance must be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, to which the Indians ascribe a supernatural power. Another kind of lance, for instance one having an iron point, would not do. In this way the tsantsa is kept at the following feasts also during the time it is not needed for the ceremonies. The trophy being tied to the chonta lance, the spirit of the enemy attached to it is brought into subjection and kept at bay.

The whuéa lays his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer and takes him round in the house, as if to manifest that he can now move about there without danger.

Meanwhile, close to the lance with the tsantsa tied to it, two small vessels have been placed. One is a piece of an old broken clay pot (hakáchi) containing a little hen's blood, the other an ordinary small pot with a solution of genipa (sua). These three objects, the lance with the trophy tied to it, the piece of the clay pot containing hen's blood, and the small pot with genipa, seem to be sacred; no unauthorized person may touch them or even come near them.

If among the warriors who took part in the killing of the enemy two or more are from the same house, being for instanee two brothers or a father with his sons, a special broken clay vessel with hen's blood and a special small pot with genipa must be placed at the lance for each of them. [303] The ceremony Numbuimártinyu must thus be performed separately with each slayer from the same house.

The 'washing of the blood' now takes place. The slayer takes his seat upon a small round bench close to the vessel with the hen's blood and the whuéa places himself at his side. Around them the women form a semicircle, having their rattles round the cincture as before. They are led by an old woman, called oháha, who at the feasts directs all those ceremonies at which the women play the main part. The whuéa first gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the hand, brings it down to the vessel containing the hen's blood, lets him dip the index finger into it, and subsequently with the blood draw a broad line 2 or 3 inches in length along the front of one of his legs, from below upward. Thereafter the slayer, with the aid of the whuéa, applies a similar stroke with the blood to his other leg. While this is being done the women, led by the oháha, dance in a ring around them, singing a sort of conjuration, which mainly consists of the following phrase:

Whuéa heingi ikaski numbimarmai ihámbratinyu; that is, 'The whuéa, together with the oháha (ikaski), paint you with blood to start the fasting.'

As we shall see, the ceremony Numbuimártinyu introduces a time of very strict fasting for the slayer.

The slayer now in his turn does the *whuéa* the same service, drawing with his index finger two streaks with the hen's blood upon both his legs.

The blood-painting ceremony having been finished, the piece of broken clay vessel, together with the blood left in it, is immediately thrown away into the forest. It is an impure and harmful substance which need no longer be kept.

The *whuea* asks the wife of the slayer for water, and she brings it in a clay dish (*pininga*). The old man takes a little water from the dish with his hand and puts it upon the head of the slayer. Thereupon he does the same with the wife and daughter of the slayer, putting with his hand a little water upon their heads. All three are subsequently sent down to the river to bathe.

That even the wife and the daughter of the slayer have to pass through this purification procedure and afterwards also have to take part in various other ceremonies, is partly due to the close relationship existing between them and the slayer, but especially to the role they have played at the dance *Ihiámbrama*. By touching the still blood-stained hands and clothes of the slayer they have likewise been polluted by the blood of the murdered enemy, are consequently exposed to danger from the [304] revengeful spirit, and have to be purified from the blood and observe other rules of precaution. From this moment up to the time for the celebration of the final great victory feast they have thus to fast in the same way as the slayer himself, assisting at the said feast

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727 783 (1928-29)

again at the dance Ihiambrama, which then will be repeated.

If the slayer has two wives they generally assist at the dance mentioned. If he is quite a young man, who has not yet married, it is considered obligatory that he should look for a bride for the feast. The part of the other woman in this case is played by some near female relative of his.

In the river the slayer carefully washes his whole body, as well as his clothing, soiled with blood in the battle, and lastly his weapons, the still bloody lance and knife. Together with his wife and daughter, who have also washed themselves, he then returns to the house.

On the way they break off some twigs of guayusa (Ilex sp.), called weisa by the Jibaros, a tree the leaves of which are used for the preparation of an aromatic and tonic drink, with which the Jibaros wash their mouths every morning. This drink has now to be prepared. The slayer as well as his wife and daughter together grasp a small clay pot, called yukúnda, pour water into it from a larger vessel, and together place it on the fire. As soon as the drink has boiled the whuéa takes a little of it in a small gourd, mutters an incantation over it, and passes it to the slayer who washes his mouth with it without swallowing much of it. Thereafter the whuéa in the same way gives of the drink to the wife and the daughter of the slayer, who likewise wash their mouths with it. The small clay pot is then taken off the fire and laid aside. The three persons are now properly purified for breaking the fast.

The wife of the slayer goes to fetch the edible top of a small palm which the Jibaros call tingimi, which is put on the fire to be roasted, exactly on the same place where the guayusa pot lay. At another fire in the house beans have before been cooked, and at a third manioc, afterwards mashed, a dish called nauma. As soon as the palm top is sufficiently roasted the women move over to this fire, take a dish with beans, and another dish with boiled manioc (nauma). The three principal persons, the slayer himself and his wife and daughter, now have to break the fast after the 'washing of the blood.' The whuea at first gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose. Then with two fingers he takes a little of the palm top (tingimi), spits on the ground, mutters an incantation over it and puts it directly into the mouth of the slayer, who [305] swallows it. Then with two fingers he takes a few beans, and lastly also a small piece of boiled manioc together with a little salt and a little pimiento or Indian pepper, and gives them to the slayer with the same ceremony. Exactly the same action is repeated with his wife and his daughter, each of whom likewise receives a little of the dishes mentioned. The vessels with the food are subsequently carried away by the other women.

Meanwhile food has also been cooked for the guests in the women's department of the house. This food consists essentially of boiled chicken. If there are swine in the house, one is also slaughtered and prepared, but according to old tradition boiled chicken is the main dish at the feast Numbuimártinyu.

A general banquet now commences, at which the guests eat chicken and manioc, whereas the slayer, his wife, and daughter eat the palm top tingimi, beans, and manioc.

After the banquet the last ceremony takes place, which consists in the slayer being painted with genipa (sua). The slayer seats himself on a bench in front of the pot containing the black dye, and the whuéa places himself at his side, grasps his hand, makes him dip his index finger in the solution and apply a broad stroke with it over the mouth so that both lips are painted black. Thereafter the old man draws a similar black stroke over his own mouth. The women simultaneously dance around the two men, singing an incantation. The pot containing the genipa is now carried away and kept.

The whuea finally addresses the slayer in a sort of speech wherein he points out that he himself has now fulfilled his mission to wash off the blood from the slayer, but that the latter has now to prepare himself for the celebration of the final great victory feast. He has to breed swine and fowls to be slaughtered at the feast; he must plant fields of manioc and plantain; he must in his life carefully observe certain rules of abstinence from eating certain kinds of food, etc.

When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock in the evening, a general dance commences, which is characteristic of this feast and is called Hantsemáta. This dance will be described later in connection with the Tsantsa-feast proper. The slayer himself takes part in the dance with the trophy hanging on his back. It has to be continued during the whole night until dawn. That night no one in the house is allowed to sleep and especially not the slayer himself.

The aim of the feast Numbuimártinyu, as already mentioned, is to [306] purify the slayer from the blood which is attached to him after the killing of the enemy, and to protect him against the spirit of the latter, who is thirsting for revenge. The soul of the enemy is particularly supposed to be present in the blood. How this purification can be brought about with the two strokes of blood applied to the legs of the slayer, is something the Jibaros can not explain more closely. Nor can they explain why hen's blood must necessarily be used for this procedure, or why that blood must be kept in an old, broken clay pot. 'Our ancestors have since times immemorial proceeded in this way,' an old Jibaro, whom I asked about the custom, answered me, 'and we have to keep up and follow their customs'. That a magical power and supernaturally purifying effects are ascribed to the hen's blood is, however, clear. The same purifying effects, in a magical or religious sense of the word, are ascribed to the bath in the river and to the washing of the mouth with guayusa, the object of the latter ceremony especially being to favourably prepare the slayer for the breaking of the fast. Again, the painting with the genipa is a direct protection against the spirit of the enemy. Body-painting among the Indians nearly always serves magical ends, being regarded as a protection against disease and witchcraft, and this is especially the case with the black painting. According to the ideas of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians there is a demon (wakáni, supai) in the black genipa paint, and when the Indian paints his body or face black this is usually a sign that he is either going to kill an enemy or has already killed one. As we shall see, painting with genipa also takes place at the feast Suamártinyu and at the final great victory feast.

In regard to the question why the hen's blood used at the purification ought to be kept in an old broken clay vessel (hakáchi), it may be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots at certain cathartic rites, when they try to get rid of something that is impure, horrible, and dangerous. Since the hen's blood which has purified the slayer is afterwards impure and harmful matter and accordingly is thrown away at once, it is consonant with ritualistic principles that it should be kept in a useless vessel, worthy of being thrown away, like the piece of a broken clay pot. It seems to be due to similar considerations that the Jíbaros use a hakáchi for heating the sand with which the trophy is reduced at the preparation.

Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food--palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc.--the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer-- the spirit of the killed enemy-- could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--307 ( 1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784 ( 1928-29)

"The prescriptions concerning the diet and mode of life which the slayer has to observe during the time immediately following the 'washing of the blood', or up to the feast called Suamártinyu which is celebrated some months later, are very severe and strict. He is not even allowed to dress completely, but only wears his loin-cloth (itipi), tied up with a cincture, having the upper part of the body bare. The hair is generally kept loose and is not arranged in the three pigtails normally worn by the Jibaros. Only at the neck is the hair occasionally tied up. He must not wear ear-tubes, facial painting, necklaces, or other ornaments of any kind. He cannot carry a lance or other weapon, nor handle poison (1) or other dangerous matter, nor go out hunting or fishing or on new expeditions, nor take part in feasts. When the slayer is out wandering he, instead of the lance without which normally no Jibaro leaves his house, only carries a short staff. He is also prohibited from having sexual intercourse with his wife or even from sleeping in the women's department of the house (ekinturu), but passes his nights in the ante-room or men's department (tangámasha). His diet is the lightest possible and consists only of the palm top (tingimi), which is eaten roasted, of boiled and mashed manioc

---

"1. This prohibition especially concerns the arrow-poison (seasa), and the varvasco poison (timo) used in fishing."

1: Karsten--307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

(nauma), and of the smallest kinds of fish caught in the rivers (a sort of sardine, chumakái, and another kind of small fish, sháchma). These may be boiled or roasted, but must be eaten without the addition of other kinds of food.

The wife and daughter of the slayer must also fast. Their food during the period in question consists principally of beans and of the leaves of a forest plant which the Jibaros call épo."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 777 ( 1928-29)

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

---

"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

---

"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

"It may be observed that the practices and rites of the feast Numbuimártinyu and the rules observed afterwards may vary in certain details among different tribes. Thus among the Jibaros of the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians the diet of the slayer after the 'washing of the blood' consists mainly of the fruit and the leaves of the plant mandi (called sangu by the Jibaros). For a whole year the slayer has to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. The lance among these Indians is not washed at the ceremonial bath in the river, but the point of it is roasted in the fire so that the blood is dried or burned.

The lance or the rifle with which an enemy has been killed is always looked upon with superstitious fear by the Indians, and is never again used in hunting. If, for instance, a wild hog is killed with such a lance or rifle, the flesh of the animal is supposed to get the same taste as human flesh, and would not therefore be eaten by anybody. The Jibaro warrior is therefore anxious to exchange as soon as possible the lance with which he has killed an enemy. The rifle he generally keeps, but no longer uses it in hunting, only in wars.

Immediately after the feast Numbuimártinyu the slayer repairs to a natural waterfall in the forest (paccha or sasa), situated at a distance from his home, and takes some baths to further purify himself. He remains here alone for three days, fasting and taking tobacco water, sleeping at night in a small shelter and paying particular attention to his dreams. After the lapse of the three days he returns to his home, but

1: Karsten--309 ( 1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 ( 1928-29)

passes the first two nights not in his house but in a small shelter made on the bank of the river. Thereafter he can sleep in his house, not with his wife, however, but in the ante-room or men's department of the house."

1: Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The feast Suamártinyu, which is held three or four months after the Numbuimártinyu, takes its name from the main ceremony performed, the painting of the slayer with genipa (sua). Even at the Numbuimártinyu, as we have seen, painting with sua took place, but that procedure is now undertaken more thoroughly and assumes a greater importance than at the feast first mentioned.

A detailed description of the feast Suamártinyu is not necessary, since the ceremonies which take place are exactly the same as those performed at the final great victory-feast. The Suamártinyu, as a matter of fact, is only an anticipation of the latter. The only difference is that the preparations for the feast Suamártinyu are less grand, fewer swine and chickens are slaughtered, and fewer guests are invited. The principal ceremony at this feast is the washing of the trophy in a magical solution, through which the spirit of the slain enemy is supposed to become the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. Then follows the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine, and the final ceremony when the whuéa or priest helps the slayer to dress himself, cuts his hair, makes him break the fast, and lastly paints his face, breast, stomach, arms, and legs with sua. The feast Suamártinyu lasts three or four days.

At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jibaros formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into

1; Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

1e Karsten--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast Suamártinyu is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy; partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast Numbuimártinyu. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (pamá), of the great wild hog (unta pakki), of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called kashai by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blowgun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (Dasyprocta agouti). Of fish he is

1: Karsten--311-212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

1: Karsten--312-313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 262 (1928-29)

"The dietetic prescriptions just mentioned depend on the following ideas. The slayer must, as a general rule, avoid eating the flesh of any animal through which the spirit of the slain enemy may get an opportunity to harm him. The most important mission of the tsantsa [JKM: head-trophy] after the feast Suamártinyu is to promote the increase of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the chicken (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu), and more particularly for the final great feast. For the very reason that the power of the tsantsa is in a mysterious way effective in the domestic animals mentioned, it is considered dangerous for the slayer to eat swine's flesh and fowls during this critical period, for that power may then prove destructive to him. The prohibition especially refers to swine's flesh. If the slayer eats of it, he may fall ill and die, and that is the work of the wakáni. This superstition is seemingly supported by the fact that flesh, and especially the fat of the swine, in tropical regions easily causes affections of the liver and other disturbances of the digestive processes. With the Indians such diseases often end fatally. The danger of a diet careless in this respect must of course be greater for a man who, for many months, has observed that strict abstinence with regard to food which has been described above.

The tapir is an animal which the Jibaros in general look upon with superstition and the flesh of which they therefore rarely eat. Formerly they had almost the same aversion from this animal as they still have from the deer, of which they believe that it is an incarnation of a demon (iguánchi), a belief still held of the tapir also by the

1: Karsten--312-313　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro-2
116, 727, 262　　(1928-29)

Jibaros of the Pastaza. The flesh of the wild hog is taboo to the slayer on account of the great similarity of that animal to the domestic swine, the flesh of which is strictly forbidden to him. The paca (kashai), although nor-[313]mally eaten by the Jibaros, is looked upon as a demoniacal animal, its flesh being therefore forbidden to persons who for one reason or another are obliged to diet.

That monkeys' flesh is forbidden to the slayer is due to the great likeness of these animals to man. The spirit of the dead enemy may hide in such an animal and cause the death of the slayer if he tries to shoot it in the forest or eat of its flesh.

Similarly the soul of the enemy may temporarily take up its abode in a tucan, a paugi, or some other large bird of the forest, and in this shape threaten the life of the slayer. Their flesh is therefore equally taboo to him.

The rule that the slayer can eat the manioc only boiled but not roasted is due to the fact that at the great feast the Jibaros prepare, from roasted manioc, a sort of manioc-wine (shiki), a magical drink which is ceremonially drunk on the last day of the feast. Since the consuming of this drink forms an important part of the conjurations at the feast, it is considered fraught with danger for the slayer to prematurely come into contact even with the roasted manioc from which it is made."

l: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

1: Karsten--313-314 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 773, 727 (1928-29)

"The prohibition for the slayer to eat the fish kánga is explained from the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to these, as already mentioned, all animal beings, even the fishes, have once been men--that is, Jibaros. Even in primitive times they used to wage war on and kill each other, to make trophies of each other's heads and to celebrate victory feasts. The fish kánga, then, in a fight was killed by one of his enemies, who later on was changed into a bird, the umbrella bird, [313] called ungúmi by the Jibaros. The ungúmi also made a trophy of the head of the fish kánga. Therefore the mouth of the kánga has still great similarity to the reduced mouth of a human tsantsa, and this is the reason why the Jibaro warrior, during the time he has to fast, abstains from eating that fish."

1: Karsten--314-315 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"After the feast Suamártinyu the slayer undertakes a short journey, just as he did after he had 'washed off the blood'. Before he can make use of the greater liberty with regard to his mode of life which is conceded to him after the said feast, it is considered necessary that the black painting applied to his body at the feast shall have completely disappeared. The black dye prepared of the fruit of the Genipa americana, owing to its richness in tannin, is very astringent, and in spite of much washing remains for four or five days. The slayer as usual retires to the forest, staying in the neighbourhood of a sasa, where he bathes repeatedly and sleeps at night in a small shelter made close by. After the lapse of some days, when there are no traces left on his body of the painting, [315] he returns to his home, where he, in the main, resumes his former normal life, the only exception being the fasting which he is still bound to observe."

1: Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

"For some time afterwards [JKM: after the feast Suamártinyu] the slayer continually has intercourse with the spirit of the enemy he has killed, whom he meets and converses with, especially in his dreams. Through the ceremonies of conjuration performed, the wakáni is now turned into his obedient slave, and is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at his disposal. The spirit gives his victor instructions and advises him as to how the swine and the chickens ought to be fed and taken care of in order that they may grow quickly, get fat and increase, or how the plantations ought to be attended to, cleaned and irrigated, in order that they may flourish and bear abundant fruit. In the dream the spirit shows to the slayer the tracks of the numerous swine which will be the result of such care, and he lets him hear the sound of their grunting. The latter also believes that he sees his house surrounded by large flourishing plantations of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and other fruits, even they being the future result of the supernatural power of the tsantsa. The fact that the slayer, through his intercourse with the wakáni, becomes invested with an extraordinary insight into all domestic work, also explains why during this time he becomes the adviser of the women in attending to the domestic animals and in the cultivation of the fields, occupations that normally, according to the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros, are incumbent solely upon the women. With the tsantsa hanging round his neck he now and then goes out in the swine yard and gives the women instructions with regard to details of the care of the

1; Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

animals, or out to the manioc plantations where he gives them corresponding instructions concerning agriculture.

During all this, however, great caution and care is still necessary for the victor. If he, for instance, is negligent in observing the rules in regard to fasting, it may happen that the result of the whole affair is contrary to the one expected. Through such negligence he not only exposes himself personally to danger, but it may also happen that the swine, instead of growing and increasing in number, will die, through the wakáni, in the shape of a venomous snake, biting them to death, or killing them in some other way. The plantations likewise, instead of flourishing and giving fruit, may dry up. All these calamities are operations of the revengeful spirit, against whom sufficient precautions have not been taken. [316]

If, however, everything has turned out well, if the swine have become full-grown and fat, if the fields have given abundant fruits so that there is a good supply of manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes, the warrior begins to take steps for the celebration of the proper victory feast, the so-called Einsupani."

1: Karsten--317 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 104, 727 (1928-29)

"The general name for a feast among the Jibaros is Nambéra, which word, however, particularly signifies a drinking-feast. The victory-feast is, therefore, sometimes called Nambéra tsantsa.(1) The technical name for this feast is Einsupani, from ein(t)su, 'folk,' 'people,' and the word 'pani', which also seems to mean 'feast', but is only used in this and a couple of other words.(2) 'To celebrate a feast' means ihiámbrama, whereas the verbal substantive ihiámbratinyu signifies the person who makes the feast, or in whose honour it is held. The principal person at the victory-feast--that is, the slayer--is also entitled mangértoma ('the one who has killed'). As a host at the feast he is called heindinyu."

---

"1. The word hista, which is now most frequently used for a feast (tsantsa hista, etc.), is borrowed from Spanish (fiesta).

2. Kusúpani, 'the feast of the men,' and Yawápani, 'the feast of the dogs.'"

1: Karsten--317 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 266 (1928-29)

"The victory-feast [JKM: Nambéra tsantsa] is also sometimes called tsantsa yuoma--that is, 'the eating of the tsantsa'--which expression has special reference to the series of conjurations through which the spirit of the killed enemy is trodden under foot, mortified, and enslaved. When the Jibaro is speaking of an enemy whom he particularly hates and wants to kill he says of him: 'Yuotahei', 'I will eat him.' This expression may be a survival from a time when the Jibaros were cannibals, and as a matter of fact at the head feast, as we shall see, a ceremony formerly took place which may be regarded as a trace of cannibalism."

1: Karsten--317-320 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The final victory-feast generally takes place about one and a half or two, sometimes even three or more years after the Suamártinyu, according to the thoroughness with which the victor wants to prepare himself for the same. One or two months before the preparations proper begin the slayer returns to that life of a penitent which was prescribed for him during the period between Numbuimártinyu and Suamártinyu. He thus is not allowed to wear other clothes than his loin-cloth, keeps [318] his hair untied, gives up all ornaments and facial painting, does not bear a lance, does not go out hunting or fishing, abstains from sleeping with his wife, etc. His diet also is much the same as then. From now until the feast is over he eats only fruits, manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, etc., but only boiled, not roasted.

All preparations for the feast are made by the slayer himself, who also acts as host at the feast. In this quality he has to attend to several representative duties.

One and a half or two months before the feast the women commence to make the many clay vessels needed, work which they continue for some weeks. Among these clay vessels there are large pots (muitsa), in which the great quantity of manioc-beer brewed for the feast is kept, and smaller dishes (pininga), used for the food and the drink.

Some piningas are made quite small, about a third or a fourth of the normal size. These are intended for certain persons, who at the feast take part in important conjurations and hence have to fast afterwards, being allowed to drink only a small quantity

1: Karsten--317-320 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

of manioc-beer.

A quite small pot is made with special care. In this pot, guarded by the whuéa or priest, the tobacco juice is kept which is given to the slayer and some other persons at the feast before and during certain important ceremonies. The pot is called nattípya and is provided with a small cover, from which the women taking part in the ceremonies have to drink the tobacco juice. The pot and the cover are likewise painted red with ochre.

More multifarious are the preparatory tasks incumbent on the men. At first they make a number of benches of split bamboo (guadua) almost square in form, each side about 1 1/2 meters in length, which are placed along the walls of the house and also in the middle close to the central pillars of the ante-room (tangámasha). These benches, which are called peáka, serve as seats during the day and as bedsteads during the night. For feasts some new ones must always be made for the guests who pass the nights in the house. Some small round seats (chimbuí), for one man to sit upon, are also made. One of these is made with special care. Upon this stool the principal person of the feast, the slayer, will sit during the ceremonies.

The fetching of a number of large chonta trunks from the forest also belongs to the earlier preparations for the feast. They will serve as firewood at the same, and have to be brought in good time in order that they may dry. [319]

Two weeks before its commencement the younger men are sent to hunt in the forest and to fish in the small rivers. These hunting and fishing expeditions before a feast are considered very important, for a good supply of game and fish must be procured for the guests. Generally these expeditions last for 15 days. The game and fish are always brought home in a dried condition.

The fishing is carried out by varvasco poison, called timo by the Jibaros, or by another poison called masu. With this poison the water is poisoned in a certain part of the small river chosen for the purpose, the river being previously barred with sticks and stones.

Similarly, two weeks previously some heads of green bananas are hung up on the ceiling of the house, in order that they may get yellow and ripen. Ripe bananas (tsamá) form one of the dishes offered to the guests at the feast.

The last work which has to be performed by the men consists in weaving a dozen large baskets (changina), used by the women at the feast for carrying home the great quantity of manioc, camote, and other fruits needed for the daily common banquet. The work is done by the younger male members of the family as well as by their friends from other houses. The slayer himself goes round to the houses inviting the younger men, his most intimate friends, to help at the work. The youths first go out into the forest in order to collect the liana used for basket weaving, called kâpi, and thereafter assemble in the house of the feast-giver, where the work is done. It lasts for two or three days. When it is finished the slayer expresses his thanks to the young men for their help, addressing each of them separately in a few words and at the same time inviting them to the feast.

During these days the victor has been engaged in inviting other people also to the feast, going round alone from house to house. The invitation is always made in a ceremonial way, the slayer addressing the person concerned in a sort of speech and speaking in a loud voice. While thus going from house to house, the slayer does not carry his lance, but only a staff, in observance of the rules prescribed for him as regards the wearing of arms.

A few days previous to the arrival of other guests, two old persons arrive in the house who will play important rôles at the feast. One is an old man and warrior, who himself has killed some enemies and celebrated at least one victory-feast. This man is called *whuéa*, and may be said to act as priest at the feast, all ceremonies being carried out with [320] his assistance. In most cases he is the same person who conducted the ceremonies at the feasts *Numbuimártinyu* and *Suamártinyu*.

The other person is an old woman, called *oháha*, who at the feast will conduct all ceremonies performed by the women, especially the incantations and conjurations, acting thus, as it were, as a priestess. She has also led such ceremonies at the earlier minor feasts. Both the *whuéa* and the *oháha* are paid for their services, the former

1: Karsten--317-320 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727 (1928-29)

receiving from the slayer an itipi (loin-cloth), the latter a woman's garment ( called tarachi). They also receive some flesh from the swine slaughtered at the feast."

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"Immediately after the basket work is finished, a dance, or rather a series of conjurations, takes place, which, on account of the word uuimina ('go away!) often pronounced therein, is called Wuimchi. This dance, which may be regarded as an introduction to the feast proper, is performed during the four last nights before the latter commences, and its aim seems to be in part to paralyze the danger which is supposed to proceed from the tsantsa, in part to increase the magical power of the trophy and make it effective in different departments of the economic and social life of the Indians. With the dance Wuimchi, therefore, the victory-feast may be said to begin.

This dance and the corresponding conjurations are performed by the younger men and women, especially by the men, the nearest friends of the slayer. In the first place those youths take part in it who made the baskets. The rest of the guests do not arrive until some days later, when the feast proper begins.

As is the case with most Indian dances, the Wuimchi commences when darkness sets in, about 6 o'clock. The slayer himself, in his quality of host, goes round in the house and invites his friends to take part in the dance.

The men do not dress in festival dresses for this dance; the women again, as usual, wear the rattles of snail shells round the waist.

Wuimchi is a ring dance. All men and women arrange themselves in a circle round the central pillar of the house and move round in slow time, holding each other's hands.

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 ( 1928-29)

The dance is accompanied by conjurations. The first conjuration especially refers to the game, the dancers enumerating all those quadrupeds and birds which are most hunted by the Jibaros. First of all, different kinds of monkeys are mentioned, which are much appreciated by the Indians on account of their flesh, their fur, and their teeth. The [322] tsantsa thus, by virtue of its supernatural power will, among other things, promote the hunting luck of the victor. From the last incantations it moreover appears that it will also exert a favourable influence upon the home industry of the Indians--weaving, basket raddling, etc.

The Wuimchi is begun with shrill whistles. Thereafter the dancers proceed to enunciate the respective names, moving round the pillar, each word being followed by a sonorous 'hej!'

The conjuration runs as follows:

Hej, hej, hej!
Yákuma a, hej!'there is the howling monkey' (Yakuma, Myletes).
Kapándinyu a, hej! 'there is the red one'; (the howling monkey is red).
Chuo a, hej! 'there is the brown monkey' (chuo).
Washi a, hej! 'there is the black monkey' (washi).
Sepuro a, hej! 'there is the long-haired monkey' (sepuro).
Tsiri a hej! 'there is the capuchin monkey' (tsiri).

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 (1928-29)

Tsema a, hej! 'there is the gray monkey' (tséma).
Pakki a, hej! 'there is the wild hog' (pakki).
Kávashu a, hej! 'there is the green parrot' (kávashu).
Púsurshu a, hej! 'there is the long-tailed one' (the macaw).
Máshu a, hej! 'there is the paugi' (mashu).
Kuchi a, hej! 'there is the domestic swine' (kuchi).
Kúturama a, hej! 'there is swine's lard'.
Ayandasta a, hej! 'there is the women's clothing'.
Ikichi, a, hej! 'there is the girdle to confine the clothing with.'
Changina a, hej! 'there is the raddled basket, 'etc.

This conjuration is continued for about one hour, the dancers meantime moving alternately to right and to left. Every time they stop to move in the opposite direction they give loud whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi, chi,' as if to keep up with these shouts the continuity of the conjuration.

Another conjuration is devoted to women and the fecundity of the women. The fruitfulness of the women, consequently, will be one more of the beneficial effects of the tsantsa.

This conjuration is as follows:
Hej! hej! hej!

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727 (1928-29)

Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kanutpia, hej! [323]
Kanutpia, hej!
Nihantsi suruchu kanutpia, hej!
Kanutpani hitia, hej!
Numbitinya, hej!
Nihīrseisaka, kahetpia, hej!
Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kahetpia, hej!
Nikasneiti, hej!
Eitgamue, hej!
Pingerati, hej!
Maketi, hej!

The word noa means 'woman'. Kanutpia, kahetpia, numbintinya, nihīrseisaka, are different expressions for the sexual act. Nihántsi surúchu 'may the tsantsa grant it;' nikasneiti 'may it be true'; eitgamue 'so you will do;' pingerati 'may it be nice;' maketi 'it is enough'.

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727 (1928-29)

Of an altogether different kind is the conjuration now beginning. It is the mysterious song to the bird kungúpi, a word therein repeatedly pronounced. The soft melody seems to indicate that the song of Kungúpi is in part a prayer, in part a conjuration. The youths, while singing, dance in a ring round the pillar as before.

. . . .

Kungúpi is a mysterious nightbird which the Jibaros regard with superstitious dread, believing that the soul of the murdered enemy may take the shape of that bird and then send them sickness and death. Whether we are here dealing with a purely mythical bird or a really existing one, I have not been able to ascertain. To the mind of the Jibaros, of course, it is a real bird; but none of the Indians has been [324] able to show me the bird kungúpi or to describe it to me in more detail. Very long ago, the Jibaros told me, one of their ancestors suddenly died at a feast, and his death was ascribed to the bird kungúpi, the shape of which the killed enemy was supposed to have taken. Since that time, at every victory-feast, they sing a special conjuration to the ominous bird in order to prevent the repetition of such an incident.

Having for a while merely repeated the word kungúpi in a certain melody, the dancers continue with the phrases mana, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, and wúimina, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, which is a formula for conjuring away the fatal bird (wúimina go away; michaki 'may you get cold! 'may you stiffen!'--an expression frequently used in similar conjurations).

Another conjuration of the same kind is the following chant:

Yawá nu ikyáma,
Yawá nu ikyáma,
Yawártaki takarseipya,
Wúimina chianga,
Huimya, huimya,
Wúimina chianga,
Wúimina chianga,
Umaná michakia,
Wúimina michaki,
Umaná chiangá,
Umaná chiasua
Umaná chianga,
Núruna chásamana,
Táhita chíangana, etc.

In this chant it is particularly 'the tiger in the forest' (yawánu ikyáma) that is the object of the conjuration (yawartaki tákarseipya 'tiger, don't touch us!' wúimina, míchakia--'go away, get cold!'), in order that he may not come and kill the Indians. Evidently it is believed that the tiger (jaguar) is another shape which the soul of the killed enemy may assume when trying to take revenge upon the victor.

Now a series of other conjurations follow, the general object of which seems to be to increase the magical power of the tsantsa. A number of short formulas are repeated, the exact meaning of which seems to be unknown even to the dancing Indians themselves. We are here dealing with archaic or ceremonial language which is understood by some, at the most, of the oldest Indians. The dancing youths repeat the same phrase for about an hour. Then some old Indian recites another similar formula of conjuration in a special melody, and this is in its turn repeated for a while in the same way. Each formula is finished with shrill whistles and shouts of '*chi*, *chi*, *chi*,' and such exclamations also accompany the interruption which takes place when the dancers change from the right [325] to the left and vice versa. Examples of such formulas, unintelligible as to their exact meaning, are the following:

*Mainia mainiatekana*.
*Kukuyukunta*, *kuuyukunta*.
*Sivu*, *sivu*, *sivahamba*.
*Sirumbachi wahe*, etc.

The dancers thus, for instance, for half an hour may incessantly repeat the formula *mainia mainiatekana*, *mainia mainiatekana*, continuing thereafter with another formula.

Other formulas of conjuration are more intelligible, as for instance the following:

*Amue sinchimaka*, *chikichitantani*, *aya*, *aya*,
*Amue sinchimaka*, *himeritantani*, *aya*, *aya*:
'Make thee strong, make thee powerful, my only *tsantsa*.'

In ceremonial language the Jibaros often make use of certain Quichua words, which are very rare in their language. The word *sinchi* is Quichua and means 'strong'; likewise the word *aya*, which means 'soul', 'dead man'. In the formula mentioned the soul of the enemy, materialized in the *tsantsa*, is spoken to directly.

The phrases are in most cases recited quite monotonously or almost as when one speaks. In other cases they are sung in a special melody, ....

During the days that the dance Wuimchi takes place the tsantsa, enveloped in a cloth, is kept hanging over one of the fires in the house in [326] such a way that it is always surrounded by the smoke from the fire. The object of keeping the trophy in this way is partly to kill the microbes which are likely to destroy it, partly, as it seems, to mortify the spirit of the dead enemy. The spirit (wakáni), according to the idea of the Indians, always keeps in the neighbourhood of the tsantsa and now and then approaches the head in the ghostly, invisible shape of a man. During the dance and the conjurations the Indians at times move away from the chonta pillar round which they dance and make a tour of the house, when they also approach the trophy hanging over the fire and chant to it.

The slayer himself does not take part in the dance, but he is not allowed to sleep at all during the night. Sitting on a sort of chair of honour specially made for him, he merely looks on the performance, only now and then giving the young men a sign to stop dancing or to begin again. Outside the ring some old women take their stand, offering manioc-beer to the dancing men and women, who by turns step out from the ring to empty a pininga of the drink. As a rule, the women only take part in the beginning of the dance; the men, on the contrary, have to continue with it until dawn. At

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 727 (1928-29)

6 o'clock an older Indian comes and gives three strokes with a staff to the chonta pillar round which the dancers move. This is a signal for them to finish the dance for that night. All the young men and women now run out and down to the river, where they bathe. All the dances of the Jibaros are finished with such a general bath in the river.

The dance Wuimchi is also continued during the following three nights."

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

"The following day, that is, three days before the feast proper begins, the manioc-beer to be served to the many guests, and also a manioc-wine which is to be drunk at the end of the feast, are prepared. The preparation of both these drinks, and especially of the manioc-wine, is of a ceremonial character. The main thing is to make them as strong as possible, this being essential for the success of the feast. The slayer himself, therefore, must personally assist in the work in order to transfer his own power to the beverages. The leading principle in the whole Tsantsa-feast, as already mentioned, is that the slayer, by virtue of the close relation established between him and the spirit of his victim, becomes invested with supernatural power and knowledge which he is trying to use for his own ends and to make effective in different departments of his economic life.

Early in the morning all the women, headed by the wife of the slayer and the priestess (oháha), go out to the manioc fields to fetch the manioc for preparing the drinks mentioned. Each of the women carries one of the baskets (changina) just made, and they are accompanied by the men armed with lances. The manioc which is to be brought home by the wife of the slayer, and of which the important manioc-wine is to be prepared, is gathered with especial care. When the woman pulls up the first stalk of manioc--which ought to be particularly large and well grown--the priestess is holding her wrist and likewise helps her to lay it down in the basket. Then she fills the basket with other manioc roots without the aid of the priestess. The women return to the house with their baskets in about two hours, and at once start the preparations. The fruit is washed and the majority of it is peeled, parted, and boiled in various large clay pots. From this manioc, by masticating and mashing the fruit, fermented manioc substance is later prepared. [328]

The manioc-wine (shiki) is prepared in another way. For this purpose the manioc is first roasted, not boiled, a work performed by the priest (whuéa) at a big fire outside the house, with the assistance of some other Indians. As soon as a sufficient quantity of the fruit has been roasted it is taken into the house and laid on some large banana leaves. At the side of it three baskets (changina) are placed, which are to be filled with the roasted fruit. A heap of certain large forest leaves, called kachini by the Jibaros, and another heap of a smaller kind of leaf called wambá are also placed close by. On a special banana leaf there is a piece of salt and a piece of the stem of the manioc plant with the rind, wich [sic] has previously been roasted.

Now the roasted fruit has to be laid in the three baskets, and at this the slayer himself and his wife and daughter have to assist, the priest (whuéa) conducting the ceremonies. The latter, who has previously prepared some tobacco juice in his nattipya, gives some of this medicine, first to the slayer and then to his wife and daughter, the first mentioned, as usual, receiving it through the nose, the latter through the mouth. The priest subsequently grasps the slayer by the wrist and the latter leans down and takes one of the large kachini leaves and lays it carefully down upon the bottom of one of the three baskets. Thereupon he, with the aid of the priest, takes one of the smaller wamba leaves and lays it in the same way in the basket upon the first leaf. Then the slayer, whose hand is still held by the priest, takes one of the roasted maniocs and opens it with his fingers. An older Indian holds out the leaf with the salt and the roasted manioc stem, the latter having previously been scraped with a knife, so that a small quantity of a brown powder has been obtained. The slayer with two fingers takes a little of this powder and puts it into the parted manioc fruit. Then he takes a piece of salt, bites off a little of it, and puts this small piece into the fruit. He then closes the latter with his hands and lays it carefully in the basket upon the leaves previously laid there. Exactly the same is repeated with another manioc. The slayer opens the fruit with his fingers, puts a little of the brown powder as well as a small piece of salt into it, and then lays the fruit in the basket at the side of the manioc first placed there. Thereupon he takes a large kachini leaf, as well as a wambá leaf, and lays these in the basket upon the fruit. While all these operations are being performed the wrist of the slayer is held by the priest. Now the same is repeated with the wife of the slayer, whose right hand is held by the old man. She takes a manioc, opens it, sprinkles some of the brown powder and a [329] little salt into it, again closes it, and then places it in the basket upon the leaves last laid down there. A second manioc is in like manner put into

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

the basket by her. Lastly, she covers the fruit with a *kachini* and a *wambá* leaf, just as was done by the slayer. Finally, the daughter of the slayer performs the same action, putting two maniocs into the basket and covering them with the leaves, the girl being in the same way assisted by the priest. In all, six manioc fruits have thus been ceremonially placed in the basket.

An older Indian now continues the work of filling the basket with roasted manioc until it is nearly full, but he does it without ceremony and is not assisted by the priest. Nor is the brown powder or the salt put into the fruit. However, the last maniocs with which the basket is filled must again be laid down by the slayer, his wife, and daughter, and with the same ceremonies as before. Each of them thus, with the assistance of the priest, again places two maniocs in the basket, sprinkling some of the brown powder and a little salt into them and covering them with the leaves. The basket having been filled, the slayer, assisted by the priest, carefully covers it with leaves and ties it over with lianas.

With exactly the same ceremonies the two other baskets are filled, the slayer, his wife, and daughter always laying down the first and the last maniocs and covering them with leaves.

At the other end of the house, in the women's quarters, a sort of shelter or broad shelf has been made of split bamboo, resting upon four poles about 1 1/2 or 2 metres in

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

height. Under this shelter the large clay pots in which the manioc substance is laid for fermenting are later placed upon the ground. Even the three baskets containing the roasted manioc are brought here. They are not laid on the ground, but are hung up to the roof by means of a special pole fixed in the ground. The slayer himself carries the baskets here from the place where they had been filled with the fruit, the priest holding his hands. The slayer takes the pole and fixes it in the ground close to one of the four poles upon which the shelter rests. Other men complete the work, fixing the pole more steadily in the ground and tying it to the other poles. The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, lifs [sic] up one of the three baskets and hangs it upon the pole. Thereafter, with the aid of the priest, he hangs the two other baskets upon the pole.

The baskets are left hanging here for three days until the beginning of the feast, manioc-wine being then prepared from them in a way to be described later. During these days the fruit will 'ripen' properly; [330] the powder and the salt put into the manioc will impregnate the fruit and exert some mysterious influence to the effect that the wine prepared from it will turn out exceedingly strong. To the kachini and wambá leaves, placed in the baskets, some mysterious influence is also ascribed.

While this work was being done by the slayer, his wife and daughter, and some of the men, the rest of the women, headed by the priestess, have been engaged in preparing the manioc-beer (nihamánchi). After the root has been boiled it has to be masticated, a work which takes some two hours to perform. The masticating of the manioc for the feasts is a real ceremony and is called Nauma. Generally only the women take part in it, since the preparation of the beer is a work particularly incumbent on the women. Of the fruit, however, only a part, or at the most a half, is masticated. The rest of it is only mashed. The manioc masticated is thoroughly mixed with saliva and then spat into a number of large clay pots (muitsa). To each of these some of the mashed manioc is added and the whole substance is carefully stirred.

Generally the pots are now only covered with banana leaves and the substance allowed to ferment. For the great feasts, however, a special ferment, consisting of previously chewed and fermented manioc, is added in order that the beer may turn out stronger. A small clay vessel with this ferment is kept ready. The following operations are, in the main, carried out only by the women--first of all by the wife of the slayer, who is assisted by the priestess (ohâha). However, even the slayer himself must assist at some actions, to transfer his power to the beverage. The wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the priestess, carries each of the pots containing the manioc substance to the shelter before mentioned, where the fermentation will take place. Six or eight large pots are thus placed under the shelter in holes previously made in the ground for the purpose. In order that the pots may stand more steadily they are supported underneath by pieces of the genipa fruit. These pieces are placed under the pots by the slayer in a ceremonial way, his hands being meantime held by the priest. The wife of the slayer, assisted by the ohάha, now puts a little of the manioc ferment just mentioned into each of the pots, but before the ferment is put in the slayer has each time to taste a little of it. The pots are then carefully covered with large leaves by the wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the ohάha, and finally tied with lianas.

Some of the large clay pots are tied on the outside with strips of bast in such a way as to form ornamental figures or patterns like those formed [331] in basket weaving. The real significance of this arrangement is not quite clear. It is possible that its object is only to give strength to the pots so that they shall not burst at the fermentation of the manioc substance. But it is also possible that some mysterious power is ascribed to the strips as well as to the ornaments formed by them--a power which will promote the fermentation and contribute to making the beverage strong. This, at any rate, is the object of the genipa fruit placed under the pots. The genipa--from which the magical black body-paint is prepared--will communicate its power to the pots and the sacred substance contained in them, a power further increased by the fact that the slayer himself places the fruit there.

It is supposed to be of essential importance that the clay pots should be placed firmly in the ground, for then the fermentation also will take place steadily, and no disturbing influences will make themselves felt.

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

All these preparations have taken the main part of the day to accomplish, and are not finished until the afternoon. The fermentation, which in a way is the most important detail of the whole thing, however, still has to take place. In order to hurry or favourably influence the process of fermentation all the women sit down on the ground around the pots containing the manioc substance and, led by the priestess, sing a sort of chant or conjuration. With this ceremony, which lasts for about half an hour, the preparation of the manioc-beer ends.

The fact that only the women have to brew the manioc-beer--which is the rule among all Indians--is due to the same reason as makes the cultivation of the manioc fields a business solely incumbent on the female sex. According to the animistic ideas of the Jibaros, as we have seen, all plants are animated by human spirits (wakáni), some of male sex, some of female. The manioc, like most other domestic plants, has a woman's soul. Hence--according to the principle 'like is best known by like'--the women have to cultivate this plant just as, in regard to the preparation of the manioc-beer, they are believed to have a special power of promoting that mysterious and, to the Indian mind, unintelligible process of nature which is called fermentation."

"After the slayer has, in the way described, assisted in the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine, his role with regard to the preparations for the feast is finished. The following days and nights he has to spend outside his own house, making on the third day, when the feast commences, his solemn entrance into the same. The first two of the three nights he thus stays outside he passes in another house a few [332]doors away from his own; the third night, again, in a shelter made at a short distance from the house of the feast. The priest (whuéa), who always must remain in the neighbourhood of the slayer and take care of him, accompanies him on this excursion.

All the three nights that the slayer is absent his friends in the house of the feast, and particularly the young men, perform the dance Wuimchi in the same way as on the first night, from the fall of night until the dawn.

On the afternoon of the day previous to the commencement of the feast, when the slayer has been absent for two nights, the following ceremony takes place in a shelter made a short distance from the house of the feast. Some of the older Indians take the trophy which, as usual, is kept hanging over the fire, place it upon a shield and carry it to the shelter mentioned. In this shelter the slayer and the priest now stay, and they will also pass the following third and last night there. Outside it a fire is made. A chonta staff is fixed in the ground close by the fire. The priest gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose, then grasps his hand and makes him hang the *tsantsa* on the top of the chonta staff. With the aid of the priest, he places three small round stones, provided for the purpose, upon the fire to be heated. When they are sufficiently hot, the slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes up one of them by means of a stick cleft at the end, and drops it into the head through the opening at the neck, holding the trophy with the left hand. The small stone is allowed to roll to and fro in the head for a moment; then the slayer takes it out and puts it back on the fire. The priest again gives him tobacco juice, whereupon the same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third one. Every time that the slayer puts a stone into the head the priest is holding his hand, and each stone, after being used in the way described, is again put on the fire, where the stones are ultimately left. The trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta staff. The priest grasps the slayer by the wrist and makes him touch the hair of the *tsantsa* with his hand, at the same time saying: *Kakáruma, pangi ishamakaipa*, --'Have courage; do not fear the great serpent'. The trophy is subsequently taken back to the house by the other men, but the slayer and the priest remain in the shelter.

As we find, the same ceremony is repeated here as was earlier performed with the trophy previous to beginning the work of preparing it. The procedure with the small heated stones seems to be merely to [333] mortify the soul of the enemy, attached to the

1: Karsten--331-333 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 789 (1928-29)

head, to protect the slayer against the revengeful ghost, and favourably to prepare for the important incident which will take place on the following day--the entrance of the victor into the house of the feast.

That the object of the ceremony described is essentially to paralyze the danger threatening the slayer from the dead enemy, may also be concluded from the last words addressed to him by the priest in which he is warned not to fear the 'great serpent.' The great boa serpent (pangi) is the most formidable of all demons who people the spiritual world of the Jibaros. He is the original father of witchcraft; it is from his body that the sorcerers receive the poison with which their organism is impregnated and the invisible arrow (túnchi), which they discharge at their victims. After death the souls of the medicine-men are also believed to enter into the boa. The Jibaros, like all Indians, therefore particularly fear this monster, and when they kill a boa they think that they kill a powerful sorcerer. From the above statement it appears that the giant serpent also is one of those shapes in which the spirit of the killed enemy is believed to meet the slayer."

l: Karsten--334-335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 293 (1928-29)

"Those guests who have come from far arrive at the house of the feast on the eve of the day fixed for the same. They do not, however, enter the house, but pass the night in provisional shelters made outside. It is not until the following morning at 5 o'clock that the doors are opened and the guests can enter. Gradually the guests who live near arrive. Before entering the house all arrange their dress, which the Jibaro Indian always does when he is about to make a visit to another house. In a sort of net-bag (shigra), carried on the back, the men have brought with them their best clothing and ornaments, first of all a new loin-cloth (itipi). In another smaller bag they carry a comb, a small mirror, a small round gourd containing a red dye for painting the body, called mushpa or aratinyu, as well as certain other small things. At a rivulet the Indian makes his toilet; he unties his thick hair, washes it, combs it, and ties it up again in the three usual pigtails. The band with which the big pigtail at the neck is wound round is adorned with tucan feathers and human hair. On his head he places some feather ornament, a crown made of red and yellow tucan feathers, called tawása, or another ornament of yellow macaw feathers, which is tied round the head, and is called tendéarma. Older warriors are often seen wearing a sort of cap of monkey's skin or an ornament made of squirrels' tails (kunámbi). The face, and especially the region around the eyes, is painted red in different ways, some Indians simply coating the face with the paint, others applying geometrical patterns to it. A new loin-cloth (itipi) is

1: Karsten--334-335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 293 (1928-29)

always put on before entering the house, a girdle of human hair (akáchu) being used to fix it with. Some additional ornaments are put on later for the dance at night.

The women always pay less attention to their dress and wear fewer ornaments than the men. The principal garment of the women is called taráchi, and a new one is as a rule made for a feast. Since weaving is an [335] industry exclusively incumbent on the men, they always make the clothes of their wives. On the crown of the head the women on festive occasions generally wear a red-painted cotton band, called tiringsa. In the ear-lobes they wear similar sticks (arusa) as do the men, but much smaller, and besides, in the lower lip the small pin of wood called tukúnu. Both the arusa and the tukúnu are mostly ornamented with incised figures.

For the dances the women also paint their faces, although not as much as the men. Around their necks the women wear a necklace of beads called shaúka, and the upper arms are tied round with cotton strings called patáki. For the dances they always put on a broad girdle or rattle of snail shells (kúngu); but these rattles are not ornaments but a means of conjuration."

1: Karsten--335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests enter the house [JKM: for the first day of the victory feast] they are received by the hosts--the father, brothers, or sons of the slayer--with a ceremonial greeting. The men generally enter three or four at a time. Each of them utters a loud: 'Winyáhei,' 'I come,' whereupon all arrange themselves in a row close to the door, with their lances stretched forth, and remain motionless until they are spoken to by the hosts. Some of the boys in the house step forward and hand a small round chair (kutánga) to each of the guests, who now take a seat, but still without uttering a word, and holding their lances between their knees. The hosts, having arranged their dress and painted their faces, take their seats, each sitting in front of the guest to whom he is going to speak, and only utter the word winiti, 'may you come.' This is the signal to the guest that he may start speaking. He mentions that he has been invited to the feast, that he has accepted the invitation and arrived to honour the victor, etc. The conversation mostly turns on the feast, the preparations made for it, the number of swine bred for the same, the number of guests invited, etc. The host and the guest speak in turns not in the ordinary conversational tone but shouting. Each conversation lasts for about 10 minutes, and each guest has to be spoken to separately by some one of the hosts. During the conversation manioc-beer is repeatedly served to the guests by the women in the house. Each guest has to empty at least three dishes (pininga) of this drink. After this ceremonial reception the guests may step forth from the door and move about in the house

1: Karsten--335 ( 1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 576 ( 1928-29)

at liberty; and other guests arriving are received in the same manner.

Only the men are received in this ceremonial way. The women, following their husbands, fathers, or brothers, enter without any form of salutation and are not particularly spoken to by the hosts."

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 ( 1928-29)

"All the guests having arrived and been properly received by the hosts, preparations are immediately made for receiving the victor himself, whose solemn entrance now takes place.

Some of the oldest warriors take the trophy, which has been kept hanging in the smoke over the fire, place it on a shield and carry it to the shelter outside of the house, where the slayer and the priest have passed the third night. Here in part the same ceremony is repeated as took place on the previous day. The *tsantsa* is placed on the top of a chonta stick fixed in the ground. The priest gives the slayer juice of tobacco and helps him to hang the trophy on himself, over the breast. The priest takes his stand immediately behind the slayer, and behind them the other warriors range themselves in a row, armed with lances, shields, and firearms. All proceed, slowly and ceremoniously toward the house, the priest holding his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer. In front of the latter another old Indian goes, holding the chonta stick in his hand. He fixes the stick in the ground a few steps in advance of the slayer. As soon as the latter, walking slowly, has reached the chonta stick, the old man removes it and again fixes it in the ground some steps in front of the slayer, and so on, until they reach the door of the house. During this march the slayer repeatedly receives tobacco juice through the nose, administered by the priest. At the door the procession stops. The slayer takes off his old loin-cloth and puts on a new one which is held ready. Then, with the aid of the priest, he takes off the trophy, which is tied to a chonta lance. The priest

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

takes the lance, with the trophy tied to it, quickly passes it in through the door, takes it out again, and again passes it inside, fixing it firmly in the ground close to the door (Pl. XXVIII).

Meanwhile the other men and the women arrange themselves to receive the victor, whose entrance into the house takes place under the same ceremonial conditions as at the feast Numbuimártinyu. Now, just as on that occasion, the dance Ihiámbrama is performed, the wife and daughter of the slayer playing the principal part among the women. The women appear from the interior of the house, arranged in a row, holding each other by the hands, with rattles of snail shells round their waists. Foremost of the women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. On each side of them the men stand in two rows.

Immediately before the dance Ihiámbrama takes place, two warriors rush into the house from outside, between the rows, brandishing lances and shields and giving war cries as if they were charging against an enemy. They are followed by a third warrior brandishing a rifle, with which [337] he fires a shot in the air. These warriors are preparing the way for the victor. The latter now receives tobacco juice from the priest through the nose, and his wife and daughter receive it through the mouth. The daughter then seizes the slayer from behind at the waist with both hands, while his wife, heading the rest of the women, gives him her right hand. All now dance into the interior of the house to the accompaniment of rattles, drums, and flutes, and immediately return to the door. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice more, but the second and third times the slayer holds the tsantsa in his right hand, with his arm stretched out, while proceeding with the women into the interior of the house. The dance Ihiámbrama is thus repeated three times, just as at the previous minor feasts.

The tsantsa is again tied to a chonta lance and the latter is fixed in the ground at the door, the usual way of keeping the trophy when it is not needed for the ceremonies.

All the ceremonies described have one and the same object, namely, to protect the victor from the spirit of his enemy. Within the house those conjurations will take place through which the wakáni is trodden under foot, mortified, and completely made the slave of his conqueror. The first entrance into the house is, therefore, believed to be particularly critical for the latter. When the victor approaches the house the spirit is believed to meet him in the invisible shape of a man, trying to kill him. Tobacco juice is repeatedly given him to increase his power of resistance against the machinations of the invisible enemy. The chonta staff fixed in the ground in front of the slayer, when he approaches the house, has for its object to prevent the wakáni from meeting him. The three warriors, who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house brandishing their weapons and shooting, were likewise trying to keep off this enemy and inspire him with terror, for the lance and the shield, and still more shots from firearms, are feared even by the spirits. Lastly, the object of the whole dance Ihiámbrama, as we have seen before, is to secure the victor's first entrance into the house.

The ceremonies at the 'entrance' of the victor may vary somewhat in certain details. Thus at another victory-feast the proceedings were as follows. Some of the older warriors took the tsantsa, placed it on a shield, and carried it with caution to the shelter outside the house, where the slayer and the priest had passed the third night. The shield, with the tsantsa, was set down on the ground, and all the warriors started to [338]dance around it, making menacing gestures at it with their lances. Thereafter the slayer, followed by the other warriors, began slowly to move toward the house. The priest placed the shield, with the tsantsa, on the ground a few steps in front of the slayer. As soon as the latter had reached the shield, the priest again moved it a short distance from him on the ground, and so on, until they reached the door of the house. Here the slayer exchanged his old loin-cloth for a new one. The priest made him touch the tsantsa with his mouth and helped him to hang it round his neck. Thereupon the dance Ihiámbrama took place in the way described above.

With these introductory ceremonies the official part of the morning's program is finished. A general drinking-bout now commences, manioc-beer being brought in large piningas to each of the guests by the women. Food is also offered them consisting of boiled manioc and boiled ripe bananas, as well as of meat, game and fish. Those persons who have played some particularly important part at the ceremonies are, however, obliged to fast. This, of course, first of all applies to the slayer himself, his wife, and daughter, who, as mentioned before, have to abstain from every kind of meat and are only allowed to eat certain fruits. The priest (whuéa), who assists them, both now and during the following days must abstain from eating swine's flesh. His most important duty is to prepare tobacco juice, mixed with saliva, which medicine he has continually to give to the slayer, as well as to his wife and daughter. Should he touch swine's flesh, which the persons mentioned are strictly prohibited from eating, the tobacco which he gives them would become polluted and made ineffective. Likewise, the priestess (oháha), who conducts the ceremonies of the women, is prohibited from tasting pork. Like the priest, she during the feast mainly eats chicken, together with manioc and other fruits. The two warriors who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house with lances and shields, and the third warrior who followed them firing a shot into the air, are also obliged to fast on that day on account of their having taken part in an important ceremony of conjuration. Thus they are allowed to drink only a small quantity of manioc-beer, which is served to them in small clay dishes specially made for the purpose.

Later in the forenoon the preparation of the manioc-wine, which was begun three days ago, is continued. The roasted manioc which was then hung up in the three baskets, filled and arranged with so much care, is now supposed to have properly ripened. The slayer, accompanied [339] by the priest and other men, goes to the shelter where the baskets had been hung up. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes down the baskets one after the other and starts to open them, proceeding with the utmost care and being always assisted by the old man. The slayer and the priest both taste the fruit in each basket to convince themselves of its having acquired the necessary virtue for the preparation of the wine. The women start to masticate the roasted fruit in the same way as the boiled manioc is masticated for brewing ordinary manioc-beer. A part of the fruit masticated is then separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing a special manioc substance from it by means of fermentation. Of this substance a kind of manioc-beer will be brewed, to be drunk after the most important ceremony of the feast, the washing of the *tsantsa*, two days later. Again, of the rest of the fruit masticated the proper manioc-wine (*sangúcha shiki*), to be consumed on the last day of the feast, is prepared in the following way.

A clay pot is placed on the ground, and the slayer and his wife and daughter, as well as the priest, take their stand in front of it. On a banana leaf a number of wooden pins have been laid, made from the twigs of a special wild tree which the Jibaros call *shuya* and which produces a sweet black fruit similar to grapes. On another banana leaf have been laid some leaves of another forest tree called *apai*. The slayer, whose hand is

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 727 ( 1928-29)

held by the priest, takes one of the *shuya* pins and slowly and carefully places it inside the pot--about in the middle of it--in a horizontal position. His wife and daughter, whose hands are likewise held by the priest, also put one pin each in the pot beside the first one. Another man completes the work, putting without ceremony some other similar pins into the pot until they have been laid along its whole breadth, with a distance of about half an inch between each. Now the slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes an *apai* leaf and cautiously places it across the *shuya* pins. The wife and the daughter do the same, each laying down one *apai* leaf in the pot at the side of the first one. Several more *apai* leaves are laid down, until the *shuya* pins are completely covered with them. Lastly, these leaves are perforated all over with a wooden pin, so that the whole thing becomes like a sieve.

The masticated manioc substance is now laid in the pot upon the leaves. The slayer and his wife and daughter again begin the work, each of them laying down, with the aid of the priest, a small quantity of the substance. The pot is wholly filled with it, and the mouth is covered first with some *apai* leaves and then with some large *kachini* leaves [340] (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) the whole thing being lastly carefully tied over with lianas. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, now places the pot upon the shelter mentioned before, where it is left for two days and two nights. During this time the essence in the masticated manioc substance will be distilled and drop into the lower empty part of the pot. This essence is the manioc-wine.

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727 (1928-29)

In the afternoon, at about 4 o'clock, two swine and some hens are slaughtered to provide food for the guests during the two following days. The proper ceremonial slaughter does not take place until the penultimate day of the feast. The flesh of the swine now killed, however, cannot be cooked until midnight, or about 1 o'clock on the following morning, and will be eaten early on the following day."

1: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

"When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock, the general feast dance begins which is called Hantsēmáta. All take part in it, both hosts and guests, man and women; first of all, however, the latter. The slayer himself goes round and invites the guests to take part in the dance speaking separately to each of them. The dance is conducted by an elderly Indian who previously gives tobacco water to the women. All who are going to take part in it are dressed in the proper way. The women, as usual, wear their rattles of snail shells round the waist. Some of the men put on additional ornaments for the dance--first of all a back ornament made of the bones of the bird tayu (Steatornis), called tayukúnchi, which is adorned with human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed birds of the forest with brilliant plumes.

The face and the uncovered part of the body is carefully painted with red ochre (Bixa orellana), animal figures and figures of snakes as well as geometric ornaments being the most common patterns. The older men prefer to paint themselves black in the face with genipa. Some younger men are seen painting themselves, previous to the dance, with tobacco juice, making with their fingers certain linear ornaments upon the face and breast--ornaments which, however, are hardly visible upon the brownish skin of the Indians. The body-painting with tobacco juice is supposed to be a good prophylactic for witchcraft.

The Hantsēmáta, which literally means; 'The killing of the enemy's soul (hantsa),' is a ring dance. The dancers hold each other by the hands and circle around the three central pillars of the house, forming a large ring, or rather an elliptical figure, and moving alternately to the right and to the left. The women first arrange themselves for the dance, and foremost among them are the wife and daughter of the slayer. Then [341] follow the men, and foremost among them the slayer, who thus during the dance is standing nearest to his wife and daughter. He carries the tsantsa hanging on his back during the whole time. Next to him the other men take their stand. At the dance the Indians move about in the same way as in the dance Ihiámbrama, hopping sideways, moving first the one and then the other foot in quick time. The women hold each other under the arms, jumping with both feet at once in order that their rattles may sound more loudly. Having moved round for a while to the right, the Indians change and dance to the left for a while, and vice versa. The dance is accompanied by a chant or conjuration, and this, too, is first performed by the women. This chant principally consists of an almost monotonous refrain, 'oá, oá, oa-á-áo,' etc., which is sung by the women in a deep and strong guttural voice, so that the whole song has a disagreeable, almost dismal, howling effect. When the dance reaches its climax the men also chant or shout, and the dancers seem sometimes almost to reach a state of ecstasy. Each time the men, during the dance, reach one of the doors at either end of the house, they stop for a moment, hop up and down on the spot, stamping on the ground and shouting in a loud

1: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

voice: 'Hyati, hyati, hyati, hyati!' At the same time the women hop on the spot, sounding their rattles, while the drums are beaten and the flutes played. This procedure is repeated for a long time. The dancers by this action are trying to keep off the spirit of the killed enemy, who, it is believed, is trying to enter through one of the doors to kill the victor.

During the dance certain words and phrases, adapted for the occasion, are also pronounced. Thus the name of the killed enemy is again and again mentioned, as are also the names of his relatives and the name of his native place. Similarly details of the war and of the battle, the lance with which the enemy was killed, or the knife with which his head was cut off, and even the canoe in which the victors went down, etc., are repeatedly mentioned. This dance, with short intervals, is continued until dawn. The men, however, do not take part in the dance the whole time, but sometimes leave the women alone. The latter, who are headed by the priestess, and among whom the wife and daughter of the slayer are the most active, first of all have to take part in the dance. The slayer himself also dances nearly the whole time, with the tsantsa hanging on his back. He is not allowed to sleep during the night.

Whereas even young girls of 8 or 10 years of age take part in the general dance, the half-grown boys seem to be excluded from it. These [342] have another task confided to them. When the older men and women arrange themselves for the dance, the boys are placed within the ring, and when the dance commences they engage in a savage wrestling match, continually throwing each other to the ground, again rising, again wrestling, etc. This wrestling is continued for about an hour in the same violent manner, but is not repeated later during the night. As to the significance of this wrestling, the Indians only gave the explanation that it is 'part of the feast'. The boys, as a matter of fact, had previously been instructed by an older Indian. The wrestling is thus of a ceremonial nature, and forms part of the general conjurations.

The dance Hantsēmáta is continued without interruption until about 1 o'clock, when there is a short interval. The flesh of the swine slaughtered in the afternoon of the day before has now to be cooked. According to the ritual of the feast, as already mentioned, the flesh of the swine slaughtered at the feast can only be cooked at midnight. On several large fires, made in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed, which are filled with the flesh cut into pieces. During the preparations for the cooking, and while the flesh is being boiled, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued with more vigour than before, all men and women who are not tending the fires being engaged in it. Likewise some hens are killed and their flesh is boiled. The Indian who conducts the dance is seen dancing for a while with two or three recently killed hens tied round his waist. The dance is supposed to hurry on the cooking of the flesh, and probably also to exert a favourable influence upon the increase of the domestic animals in future. As soon as

1: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

the flesh is sufficiently cooked, the pots are taken off the fires and lifted up on the shelves to be preserved until morning. It is not until then that the flesh can be eaten.

The dance is then continued without interruption until the morning, being performed particularly by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and women have to take part in it just as in the beginning. Having moved several times around the central pillars, all rush out from the house, continuing to hold each other by the hands, and run down to the river, where they take the usual bath. With this bath the ceremonies of that night are finished."

1; Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 276 ( 1928-29)

"At about 8 o'clock the principal ceremony of the second day, the drinking of the sacred drink natéma takes place. When the drink is prepared for the feast the slayer himself has to assist in order to transfer to it the supernatural power with which he is believed to be invested.

For the preparation of the natéma some pieces of the stem of the vine are cut off, crushed with clubs, and parted into thinner fibres, which are boiled in water for a couple of hours. The fibres are then taken out and the drink is ready. The natéma drink, which has the effect of producing in the drinker peculiar visions and hallucinations which are ascribed by the Indians to certain spirits, is generally mixed with some tobacco water, by which its narcotic effects are increased. At the tsantsa feast the second day is regularly devoted to the drinking of the natéma, and it is prepared and drunk with certain ceremonies which have now to be described.

Some pieces of the stem of the natéma plant are laid on a banana leaf on the ground. Upon another banana leaf a large and a small wooden club are laid, and with these the natéma stems are to be crushed. There is besides a pot in which the drink will be cooked. The priest as usual gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the wrist and makes him seize a club with his right hand and a natéma stem with his left and crush the stem, laying it upon the other club. The slayer divides the stem into three or four fibres and puts them down into the pot, the priest holding

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 276 ( 1928-29)

his hand. Another Indian without ceremony crushes some other pieces of the natéma stem and arranges them in a ring within the pot. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, now pours some water into the pot from a water bottle and places the pot on the fire, some other men attending to the pot while it boils. [344]

At another fire close by tobacco is simultaneously being boiled, to be mixed with the natéma. A small clay pot is placed by the fire, and some leaves of tobacco are laid on a banana leaf at the side of it. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes a tobacco leaf and carefully puts it, first on the edge of the pot and then into it. The wife of the slayer repeats the process with another leaf, laying it first on the edge of the pot and then inside it. Lastly, a third tobacco leaf is in the same way put into the pot by the daughter of the slayer. Thereupon the slayer, assisted by the priest, pours some water into the pot and places it on the fire.

On the spot where the natéma is cooked there is also placed a piece of the stem of the manioc plant and two narrow strips of the bark of a tree which the Jibaros call samiki. The slayer takes one of the strips, winds it round his index finger, and ties it into a ring of the same size as the finger. By means of one end of the strip which after the tying of the ring has been left free, he then attaches the ring to the piece of the manioc stem. Thereupon he in the same way makes another ring of the other strip, of the size of his index finger, and attaches it to the manioc stem at the side of the first ring. With

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
316, 727, 276 ( 1928-29)

the aid of the priest he ultimately places the manioc stem, with the two rings attached to it, upon the tobacco pot boiling on the fire in such a way that it rests upon the edges of the pot.

The object of this ceremony is to establish a mysterious connection between the slayer, who, as we have seen, is supposed to be filled with supernatural power, the tobacco water to be mixed in the natéma drink, and the manioc plant which the persons drinking of the narcotic will see in the dream. The two rings formed of the rind of the samiki trge will in this connection serve as mediums for the transference of the power. The Jibaros ascribe magical virtues to the samiki tree itself, and a little of its bark is generally mixed with the natéma with a view to increasing the efficacy of the drink. The bast strips of the tree having been formed into rings of the same size as the slayer's finger, are believed to catch his power, and thus to transfer it to the manioc and the boiling tobacco pot. The persons partaking of the sacred drink are afterwards, in the narcotic sleep, supposed to see, among other things, the manioc fields of the slayer in a flourishing state and bearing a rich crop of fruit.

At the tsantsa feast the natéma is only boiled for about one hour, whereupon the pot is taken off the fire. Similarly the smaller pot in which tobacco has been cooked is taken away, the manioc stick with [345] the bast rings having first been removed. The latter is fixed in the wall close to the door, where it is left until it is dry and half

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727, 276 ( 1928-29)

consumed, being then thrown away.

The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, seizes the small tobacco pot and pours its contents into the natéma pot. The drink is now ready to be consumed.

In the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast both men and women, even half-grown children, take part, all 'who want to dream' being allowed to drink of the narcotic. Even the slayer, as well as his wife and daughter, drink natéma. The drinking has throughout a ceremonial character. A number of beautifully ornamented clay dishes are placed on the ground in two rows. The priest and two or three other old men fill them with natéma and give them to the persons who are going to drink. Before they give the dish to a man or woman they each time sing a long conjuration over it, summoning the natéma spirits. The person who receives the dish quickly empties its contents, which amount to nearly half a litre. Immediately thereafter he or she goes out and throws up the quantity drunk (for the natéma at first has the effect of an emetic). Then the person again enters the house, again empties a pininga of natéma, which is given him by an old man with the same ceremony as before, and immediately again throws it up. The same process is repeated at third time. Each person who drinks natéma at the Tsantsa-feast thus has to empty three dishes of the sacred drink.

The persons who drink natéma have not previously eaten or drunk anything, and afterwards also they have to fast strictly until they have slept and dreamed. The majority of those who have drunk the narcotic leave the house and go out to sleep in some shelters of palm leaves made in the forest at a short distance from the house. Most of these are men, but at least one of them ought to be a woman, a female relative of the slayer. The slayer and his wife and daughter, who also have drunk natéma, do not leave the house, but have their dreams inside. The dreamers remain in the forest sleeping until the afternoon. Then they take a bath in the river and return to the house, where they tell the older Indians what kind of dreams and visions they have had. Now they are also allowed to break their fast. Their food consists only of a dish of boiled and mashed manioc and boiled ripe bananas. The dreamer has to receive the dish containing this food from the hand of the same old man who in the morning had given him or her the natéma.

The object of the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast is to [346] ascertain whether everything will turn out favourably for the slayer in the future, whether he will have a long life, attain material prosperity and be lucky in his undertakings. The slayer, as well as his nearest relatives who have drunk natéma, will see in the dream his house surrounded by large and flourishing plantations of manioc and bananas; they will see his domestic animals, his swine and his hens, numerous and and [sic] fat, etc. But at the same time the persons who have drunk the sacred drink will be benefited themselves, being purified from impure and disease-bringing matter, and gaining

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 727, 276 ( 1928-29)

strength and ability for their respective work and occupations.

The drinking of the natéma in the morning is as usual followed by a general drinking-bout--in which, however, those persons who have drunk natéma do not take part--as well as by a general banquet, at which the flesh of the swine and chickens cooked during the night is eaten. With this banquet the official part of the morning's program is finished, and hosts and guests may pass the rest of the day until darkness as they like.

At about 6 o'clock in the evening the preparations for the night's dance commence, the host (i.e., the slayer) again going round in the house and inviting the guests to take part in it. All having properly dressed themselves, arranged their ornaments, and painted their faces, the Hantsemáta begins and is continued through the whole night exactly in the same way as on the previous night. Even the wrestling of the boys takes place for a while. The dance is continued until about half past 5 in the morning, being as usual finished off by a general bath in the river."

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
*116*, 727 (1928-29)

"Like all ceremonies at the victory-feast, the 'washing of the *tsantsa*' commences about 8 o'clock in the morning, or about two hours after the dance of the previous night has been finished. The priest (*whuéa*) has previously been engaged in preparing tobacco juice mixed with saliva, by carefully chewing the leaves and spitting out the juice into the small clay pot (*nattipya*), from which he will portion it out to the persons who play the principal parts in the ceremonies. A small clay pot filled with water has, by means of some strips of bast, been tied to one of the chonta pillars in the middle of the house. From this pot the priest now and then takes a little water in his mouth while chewing the tobacco leaves. The priest having in this way provided a sufficient quantity of tobacco juice in his *nattipya*, the preparations for the ceremony, 'the washing of the *tsantsa*', begin.

The principal persons of the feast, the slayer, his wife and daughter, the priest, and a medicine-man, assemble at a spot in the middle of the house. The women arrange themselves round them, forming a ring or semicircle, all having their rattles around their waists and being headed by the priestess (*oháha*). The latter on this occasion wears a feather ornament on her head, which normally is never worn by the women, and also a kind of black collar prepared from the twigs of a certain tree which the Jibaros call *múpish*. This collar, to which the Jibaros ascribe some magical power, is hung round the neck of the priestess by the priest before the ceremony commences.

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 ( 1928-29)

Outside the ring of the women, moreover, four warriors, armed with lance and shields, take their stand. The role which they have to play is presently to be described. The first thing to be done is to provide seats for the persons mentioned--the slayer, his wife and daughter, as well as the priest and the medicine-man--and this is done in a ceremonial [348] way. The wife of the slayer grasps her husband with one hand and the priest with the other hand from behind at the waist, and all three go and fetch the seat of the slayer, which has been placed near the wall a few steps from where the ceremony will take place. The slayer, both of whose hands are held by the priest, bends down, grasps the seat, passes his hand round its edges, lifts it up a little, immediately sets it down again, lifts it up a second time and, accompanied by the priest, who continues holding his hands, and by his wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist, carries it to the spot from which they started. Here the seat is ceremonially laid down on the earth, the slayer with the aid of the priest setting it down, again lifting it up and a second time setting it down. Now the seat has been firmly placed, and must not be touched by anybody until the slayer seats himself upon it. During these operations, both when the seat was taken up and when it was placed upon the spot where the ceremony is to take place, the women have been dancing around the slayer and his wife and the priest, incessantly repeating, in slow time and almost monotonously, the refrain: 'Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba, chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba...'etc., i.e. 'Take

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 ( 1928-29)

up the seat, set down the seat, ... 'etc. Thereupon the slayer, his wife, and the priest go and fetch another seat upon which the priest will sit during the ceremony; and this is done in the same way as the first time, the women dancing and singing their 'Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumbá'when the seat is being lifted up from the ground, and when it is placed on the spot where the priest will sit. The slayer's and the priest's seats are placed opposite each other. Three more seats are subsequently brought for the medicine-man and for the wife and daughter of the slayer.

The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the slayer's wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist as before, now go and fetch a shield which had previously been placed by the door and which will serve as a table at the ceremony. The shield is placed on the ground between the seats. Lastly the same persons go and take the tsantsa, which as usual has been kept tied to a lance stuck into the ground at the door. The tsantsa is carefully placed upon the shield. On the latter are also laid the small pot containing tobacco juice and a knife.

The slayer and the priest now prepare to sit down each taking his stand in front of the seat intended for him. The priest lays his hands upon the shoulders of the slayer and makes him sit down on the seat, immediately raise himself, and again definitively sit down. Thereafter the slayer repeats the same with the priest, laying his hands upon his shoulders, [349] making him sit down quickly, immediately raise himself, and again sit down. Both men now remain sitting opposite each other. The three other persons also take their seats without ceremony, the slayer having the medicine-man sitting on his right hand and his wife and daughter on his left.

The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth, then to the medicine-man through the nose, and finally he himself also takes some. The medicine-man is now the principal person acting. Taking the *tsantsa* and the knife he takes some tobacco juice with the point of the latter and coats the *tsantsa* with it at the neck opening. He makes a cutting motion round the neck of the head with the knife as if he were cutting it off. Then he carefully loosens the cotton string attached to the three chonta pins, which have been stuck through the lips of the head (p. 296), and lastly removes the chonta pins themselves, one after the other, putting them down on the shield. Finally he gives tobacco juice to the slayer and hangs the trophy round his neck.

While the medicine-man has been engaged in these actions, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing round him and the other persons sitting around the shield, singing at every important moment of his operations, in the same slow, solemn time as before, certain refrains which are supposed to give them more emphasis. Since tobacco plays an extraordinary role at the feast, we can understand why this magical medicine is particularly mentioned. Among the refrains sung at the washing of the tsantsa I have noted down the following as being the most important:

Chimbuyirumbá --yamáyumbá,
'Take up the seat! -- set down the seat!'
Shimbágasmé, 'May it not move' ('may it be steady!')
Styugahosé, 'Put the tobacco cautiously on the floor!'
Wakéketá, 'Unfold the leaves!'
Umbunatá, 'Blow tobacco smoke!'
Urárata, 'Open the bundle'!
Chichutamá, 'Throw saliva upon it!'
Shimbanákachá, 'May it not get damaged.!
Yamámishá, 'Recently enveloped are the tobacco leaves'.
Mishákatei, 'Recently made is the head of the enemy which we are going to wash'!
Yamanhiri, 'Recently we have passed the threads through its mouth.' [350]
Misháhosé, 'Take up the tsantsa'!
Mishatákuná, 'Hold it up for the dance'!
oa-á --aó."

1: Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"Thus, when the medicine-man seizes the trophy, when he makes the cutting motion round its neck with his knife, when he removes the cotton string and the chonta pins, and lastly, when he hangs the trophy round the neck of the slayer, the women accompany all these actions by dancing, singing the refrains mentioned, and shaking their rattles. Again, the four warriors armed with lances and shields at the same time accompany the operations of the medicine-man in another way: at each of the critical moments just mentioned they hold the shield, extended in a horizontal position, with the left hand, and with their lances give it from below three or four powerful resounding strokes. This is the ceremony called Yáktinyu.

The removal of the aforesaid ornaments--the cotton string and the chonta pins--has been necessary for the washing of the tsantsa, a ceremony which will take place outside the house. The slayer has to march out to the place destined for it, performing together with the women the same dance, Ihiámbrama, which we know as one of the principal ceremonies from the first day of the feast. The women arrange themselves in a long column, the wife and daughter of the slayer as usual taking the foremost place. The slayer places himself at the head of them grasping his wife with his left hand and the tsantsa with his right, and holding his arm stretched out. On both sides of them the men range themselves in two rows. A sign having been given, the slayer, followed by the women, proceeds dancing to the door of the house, again returns to the interior,

1: Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

and again proceeds dancing to the door, where he stops. He goes out, with the aid of the priest hangs the trophy round his neck, and continues a few steps toward the place chosen for the washing ceremony.

The slayer now takes a seat, placed on the ground for his use (Pl. XXXI). On another seat his wife seats herself, and on a third his daughter. The priest and the medicine-man take their stand close to them. Round these persons the women form into a ring, grasping each other by the hands. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yaktinyu within the house also take up positions ready for fresh action. The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer and the two women, a procedure that is repeated three or four times during the following ceremonies, so that the said persons at last become narcotized, grow pale, and begin to tremble through their whole bodies. It is considered necessary that they [351] should be brought to such a state, since thus they are supposed to gain power of resisting the angry spirit during the important action which will now take place, namely, the washing of the tsantsa.

The medicine-man fixes a chonta stick in the ground in front of the slayer. The latter takes off the tsantsa from his neck and with the aid of the priest places it on the top of the stick. Close to the stick a clay pot, a round gourd containing water, and a piece of the root of a liana called sikimuro are placed on a banana leaf. The medicine man who will conduct the washing ceremonies receives the sikimuro root from the wife of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom under her taráchi. When the root is cut in pieces and rubbed in water it produces a white soap-like foam. It is with this soap that the tsantsa will be washed.

The medicine-man cuts the sikimuro root into small pieces. Then the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, grasps him by the wrists, and makes him pour some water into the clay pot from the water-bottle. Thereupon the priest makes the slayer take up some pieces of the sikimuro root and put them into the pot. Now the trophy itself has to be laid down in this solution. The priest again grasps the slayer by the right hand and makes him take up a little water from the pot, with which he wets the tsantsa. The same operation is immediately repeated; but now the slayer also takes up a small sikimuro piece from the pot and touches the hair of the trophy with it. Finally the slayer cautiously puts the trophy itself down into the pot, his right hand then being held by the priest and his left hand by the medicine-man.

The trophy having been laid down in the sikimuro solution with these ceremonies, the washing itself is performed by the medicine-man (Pl. XXXII). He rubs the hair with the sikimuro pieces and washes it with the soap produced by them. Having carefully soaked the trophy in the solution, he takes it up from the pot, places it on the top of the chonta stick, and continues washing it. Thereupon he begins to make it dry, shaking off the water from it, beating his arms with the hair, and drying it with his clothes. Finally he combs the tsantsa, receiving a special comb from the daughter of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom in the same way as the wife of the slayer had kept the sikimuro root. The hair having been arranged and combed properly, the trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta stick, where it is left for a while so as to get perfectly dry. The medicine-man grasps the hand of the slayer and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa; then he likewise grasps the hands of his wife and daughter and makes them gently touch the trophy. [352]

While all these operations have been performed, the women, led by the priestess, have again formed a circle round the principal persons, accompanying each of the most important actions--when the tsantsa was first touched by the sikimuro solution, when it was laid in the pot, when it was washed and combed, etc.--by dancing, chanting, and shaking their rattles (Pl. XXXII, 2). The refrains, slowly and monotonously sung by the women, are similar to those before sung in the house.

The operations of the medicine-man have also been accompanied by the four warriors armed with shields and lances, who at the critical moments have been striking their shields performing the Yaktinyu.

The washing of the tsantsa having been accomplished, the sikimuro solution is disposed of in the following way. The medicine-man seizes the pot with both hands and pours out the majority of its contents, as well as the foam produced by the root, on the earth. The rest of the warriors start to strike the running water and foam furiously with their lances. The remainder of the solution, as well as the clay pot itself, is thrown away into the forest.

The men now make themselves ready to march back into the house. The slayer receives tobacco juice from the priest. Then with the aid of the latter, he takes the trophy hanging on the chonta stick and hangs it over his breast. Behind the slayer the other men, as usual, arrange themselves in a long row, all armed with their lances and guns. The priest takes his stand behind the slayer, holding his hand upon his shoulder. Some other older warriors also place themselves at the side or in front of the slayer, one of them holding the small pot containing tobacco juice, of which a dose is repeatedly given the slayer. The women have previously returned to the house and made themselves ready to receive the slayer.

The procession now starts to move forward, the slayer walking slowly and solemnly, followed by the other warriors, continually striking the hair of the trophy with his hands. An old warrior goes in front of him, holding the comb, with which the trophy had been combed after washing, before him. The comb, by having been in contact with the victim's hair, is charged with spiritual energy, and is therefore supposed to possess the power of keeping off the spirit of the slain enemy, which according to the belief of the Indians is coming to meet the slayer when he approaches the house, trying to kill

1; Karsten--350-356 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 727 (1928-29)

him.

The slayer stops at the door of the house. The priest helps him to take off the trophy, ties it to a lance which he quickly passes in through [353] the door, again takes out, and passes in once more, whereupon he fixes the lance in the ground at the door inside. Within the house, meanwhile, the women have arranged themselves for the dance Ihiámbrama, which the slayer again has to perform with the women in the way described before.

After the dance the priest takes the slayer round inside the house to manifest that he can move about in it without danger.

The object of this ceremony, the 'washing of the tsantsa,' is to 'wash off' the malignity still retained by the spirit of the slain enemy, and definitely to make it the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. This effect is first of all supposed to be brought about by the sikimura solution, owing to the magical properties ascribed to the sikimura root itself.

Again, the object of the dancing and chanting of the women while the washing of the trophy takes place, as well as of the ceremony Yáktinyu performed by the four warriors, is partly to keep off the malicious spirit, who is being mortified and definitely enslaved through the washing ceremony and is more eagerly than ever trying to revenge himself, partly to give more emphasis to the ceremony itself. The refrains chimbuyiruimba--yamáyumbá, etc., belong to an ancient ceremonial language, and their exact meaning is probably unknown to many of the Indians themselves. The different refrains refer to different details of the ceremonies going on within the ring of the dancing women--when the slayer puts the *tsantsa* on the top of the chonta stick, when he wets it with the magical solution, when he puts it into that solution, when the medicine-man washes it, when he dries it, etc.--and they are supposed to give more emphasis to the action taking place at the moment. That the efficacy of an action is enhanced when it is repeated in words is an idea deeply rooted in the minds of the Jibaros.

After the introductory dance *Ihiámbrama* has taken place, and while all are still standing in the rows in which they were arranged for this dance, manioc-beer (*nihamánchi*) has to be ceremonially drunk. This is not a manioc-beer of the common kind, but a special beer brewed of roasted manioc (p. 339), which is supposed to have a particular efficacy. In front of the men, arranged in two rows, five women take their stand, each holding a *pininga* filled with the manioc-beer. The first and the second of these women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. The slayer himself is the first to drink of the beer, stepping forth to the women and taking a sip from the *pininga* of each of them. Then he goes back to the other men, seizes the priest by the arm, leads him forward to the [354] women, and makes him in the same way drink a little from the dish of each woman, whereupon he follows him back to the place where he was previously

1: Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727 (1928-29)

standing. The same is repeated with every one of the other warriors, who have to step forward and drink by turns, according to age and dignity, the oldest warriors who have killed many enemies and celebrated many *tsantsa*-feasts going first and the younger men afterwards. Only the eldest men are led to the women by the slayer, the younger men stepping forth at a sign given by him, or without a sign, in the order in which they are arranged.

With the drinking of the *nihamánchi* the day's official ceremonies are finished. They are followed by the usual general drinking-bout and by a common banquet. The principal persons of the feast and other men or women who have taken part in important conjurations, however, have to fast as before, abstaining particularly from eating pork. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony *Yáktinyu* with their shields and lances are not allowed to drink the same quantity of manioc-beer as the other men. The drink is served them, not in the usual large *piningas*, but in the small clay dishes mentioned before. These dishes are placed on the ground in a row and filled with beer, and the four warriors take their stand in front of them, ranged in a row. A sign being given them, they suddenly run forth, all at the same time seizing their *piningas* and quickly emptying their contents. The men thus quickly and simultaneously drinking the beer, the revengeful spirit is believed to have more difficulty in doing harm to any of them.

The drinking-bout is continued nearly the whole day, until all, both men and women, get more or less drunk. In the same degree as the drink exerts its intoxicating effects, the Indians start to dance singly, and this dance goes on the whole forenoon. At first the priestess (oháha) dances alone with the tsantsa hanging on her back, chanting a song, which is in its nature an invitation to the younger men and women to start dancing. This song runs as follows:

Ohahaheitimi, 'Let us sing and dance!'

Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
sinseri natsamáma,
Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó. [355]
Tsingumimáma,
oháhaheita,
untuhára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Untuhára
ivyéramáma,
wakimsihára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Shirimbi nóastaimi,
narángoá,
oháhaheita,
nayápiumau
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

1: Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 727 (1928-29)

In translation:
'Let us sing and dance!
May all of you come!
Arranged in a file may you come and dance! Arranged in a file may you come without feeling shame!
Well dressed,
having adjusted your tarachi,
having arranged your ornaments,
may you sing and dance!
Grasping one another by the hands
may you dance!
Like the swallow which, (sitting on a bough) is moving his body to and fro (as if he were dancing),
Like the hawk, which is making his circles in the air, may you sing and dance!'

In obedience to the exhortation of the priestess the younger Indians start to dance in couples, one man and one woman, the wife and daughter of the slayer being the most active among the women. The dancing couple wear the usual festival dress, the woman having her rattle of snail shells round the waist, and the man his drum, which he beats in time to the dance. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the woman alternately moving to and from each other in slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum, the woman simultaneously chanting a song (Pl. XXXIII). At the same time other men accompany the dance by beating drums or playing flutes. In this way one couple after the other makes its appearance in the course of the day. Besides the priestess, other women also appear dancing alone, accompanying themselves with a chant or song. These songs generally have no reference to the feast, but the women sing whatever occurs to them in their intoxicated state. Thus it is common that at the great feasts the [356] women address their songs to certain beautiful birds of the forest, which are then personified and spoken to. Among these birds the tucan (tsukánga), the cock-of-the-rock (súmga), the paugi (máshu), and the wild turkey (kúyu) play the principal roles, and the dancing women address them, giving them all sorts of pet names, praising their brilliant plumage, their walk, etc."

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the important action takes place which the Jibaros call Cuichi achiktahei matinyu, i. e. 'the slaughter of the swine'.

According to the ritual of the feast, the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine takes place during the night preceding the last day of the feast, or more strictly speaking shortly after midnight, 'when the cocks crow for the first time,' and the new day is supposed to begin. This hour is generally about 1 o'clock in the morning. Since it is, however, difficult both to slaughter a number of swine and to cook their flesh within a short time, the matter is mostly practically arranged so that the slaughtering of the animals takes place on the afternoon of the day before, whereas the cooking of the flesh is done at midnight. That the flesh should be cooked at midnight is considered absolutely necessary, for only in this case will the purpose of the whole slaughtering ceremony, the plentiful increase of the swine for the future, be attained. When the flesh of the animals killed is cooked early in the morning, at the first beginning of the new day, this will have as its consequence that henceforward there will be plenty of swine's flesh in the house of the slayer. The same holds good of the hens, which are likewise slaughtered and cooked during the first hours of the new day; but they naturally are of less importance than the swine.

As has been mentioned before, the swine to be slaughtered at a feast have been procured long before, when the first preparations for the feast began; and they are bred and fed with special care. The victor himself has supervised the rearing of these animals, giving the proper women instructions which he himself has received directly from the wakáni, the spirit of the killed enemy materialized in the tsantsa, over whom he has acquired complete domination. The number of the swine to be slaughtered at a feast is not exactly fixed in the beginning. Generally a few [358] more are procured and bred than are supposed to be needed for the purpose. Moreover, for the propagation of the race it is necessary that at least a couple should be left alive. When the time for the great feast is approaching, the victor himself decides which of the swine are to be slaughtered and in what order it is to be done. Even respecting these details he receives advice directly from the wakáni, when, with the tsantsa hanging round his neck, he goes out into the swine yard and 'points out' the animals (kuchi anéikama). These swine having been slaughtered in due order and their flesh consumed at the feast, the few remaining ones will increase in number all the more. This is the main idea which the Jibaros connect with the ceremonial slaughter of domestic animals at their feasts.

For a feast at which I was present 11 or 12 swine had been bred, of which 9 were slaughtered, 2 during the first day of the feast and 7 on the day of the ceremonial slaughter proper.

According to the ritual, the slaughtering should be done by some of the invited guests specially selected for this purpose. The host or his household must not touch them on any account, for then the object of the whole ceremony would be missed, inasmuch as the remaining swine would not increase. The slaughter takes place outside the house, but the animals are not all killed on the same spot but one here and another there, close to the different walls of the house. In this way the impression is produced that the swine killed and eaten at the feast are very numerous, and the effect of this will be that they will really be numerous in future.

The animals, according to an old Jibaro custom, are killed by strangulation, without the shedding of blood. A rope twisted of lianas is tied round the neck of the swine, and a strong stick is stuck under it, the strangulation being brought by about twisting it. As the animals are thus killed they are carried into the house, where some pots with hot water stand ready. The skin is scalded with the hot water, and the hair is scraped off, whereupon the stomach is opened and the flesh cut in the ordinary way.

Of the flesh the priest and priestess receive each one leg as a part of the payment for their services at the feast. The rest of it, with the exception of the heads and the bones, is kept on special shelves until midnight, when it is cooked. The head and the bones, again, are roasted and kept until the day of the departure of the guests, being then divided among them.

When darkness sets in the dance Hantsēmáta, as usual, commences [359] and is continued, with two intervals, until dawn. The first of these intervals occurs at about

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

10 o'clock in the evening, when the distilled manioc-wine is made definitely ready. The clay pot containing the roasted and masticated manioc substance which, during the first day of the feast, had been arranged for the distillation of the drink is moved forward and placed on the ground. The priest, proceeding with the utmost care, removes the kachini and apai leaves with which the masticated substance had been covered. Then he removes the manioc substance itself with the same care, laying it in another vessel. Finally, in the same way, he removes the apai leaves which had been laid on the shuya sticks collected in the pot, as well as the shuya sticks themselves, which together with the leaves are laid on a special large leaf. The dark-brown essence which has remained in the bottom of the pot is the manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki). The priest asks for another smaller clay pot and for a gourd, which are given him by the women. Then he pours the whole quantity of wine into the new clay vessel, and also a little into the gourd. The gourd is then placed over the mouth of the clay pot so that is [sic] covers it, and the gourd is covered with leaves. The whole thing is thereafter kept in a special place until the following morning, when the drink will be consumed.

This work being finished, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued until about 1 o'clock in the morning, when the cocks are heard crowing, and the host declares it to be the right time to cook the flesh of the swine slaughtered. Various fires have previously been

1; Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

kindled in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed upon them, and the flesh is divided up among the pots. At the same time a number of hens are killed by wringing their necks; these are plucked and prepared on the spot, their flesh being cooked in special pots. While the cooking goes on the Indians dance the Hantsemata with more vigour than usual, all men and women taking part in it. After the flesh is boiled the pots are removed from the fires, put aside, and kept until morning. It is not until then that the flesh cooked can be eaten, namely, at the common banquet following the last ceremony of the feast, the dressing of the victor.

The dance, as usual, is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the customary bath in the river."

"The last day of the feast: Nambera shiákma, 'the feast is concluded'.

About 8 o'clock in the morning the last great ceremony is performed with the slayer, in which the priest dresses him in a festive dress, makes him break his fast, and lastly cuts his hair and paints his body black with genipa.

The beginning of the ceremony, the carrying of the seats, the bringing of the tsantsa placed on a shield, etc., is exactly the same as on the previous day when the trophy was to be washed. The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the former's wife, have especially to fetch each seat upon which these persons will sit during the ceremony, a special seat being likewise brought for the medicine-man. The priest helps the slayer to seat himself, and the slayer in his turn helps the priest. Between the seats the shield with the tsantsa has been placed. Upon the shield, besides, all those articles of clothing and ornaments are laid with which the slayer himself as well as his wife and daughter will be dressed. These articles, as far as the slayer is concerned, are the following: A new loin-cloth (itipi) with a girdle of human hair (akáchu); a broad band, the ends of which are adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, called itsimgama, to tie round the great pigtail at the neck; and two red-painted cotton strings with which the small braids at the temples are tied; a comb, timashi; ear-sticks, arúsa; pendants of brilliant beetle wings to attach to the ear-lobes, called wauo, a crown of toucan feathers for the head, tawasa; an adornment for the back, made of the leg bones of the bird tayu, called tayukunchi. Of ornaments worn by the women the following are laid on the shield: a cotton string which the women tie around their hair for the feasts, tiringsa; the small ear-sticks of the women, arusa; the wooden pin which the women carry in the nether lip, tukúnu; a collar of beads worn round the neck, sháuka; and some broad cotton bands tied round the upper arm, patáki. [361]

Upon the shield, moreover, are placed the small pot containing tobacco juice, a small gourd containing red ochre (ipyáku), three twisted cotton strings, painted red with ochre, which are to be attached to the lips of the tsantsa, and a knife.

After all have seated themselves the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, to his wife and daughter, as well as to the medicine-man, and lastly partakes of it himself. The medicine-man takes the knife with the right hand and the tsantsa with the left and takes some tobacco juice with the point of the knife and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. After this he cuts off a strip of the skin from the trophy, removing nearly the whole part which formed the neck. This strip is laid down on the shield. Into the holes in the lips, where the three chonta pins had been stuck before, he inserts the three cotton strings, which are thus attached to the lips. While the medicine-man is engaged in these operations the women dance round him and the other persons sit at

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 (1928-29)

the shield chanting their usual incantations: *chimbuyirumbá*--*yamáyumbá*, etc. Likewise the four warriors at the critical moments strike their shields with the lances, performing the ceremony *Yáktinyu.*

The trophy is now ready. The priest thereafter begins his part, his first task being to dress the slayer. The priest, as usual, gives him tobacco juice through the nose and helps him to hang the *tsantsa* upon himself. Formerly it was customary among the Jibaros for the victor, before he took on the trophy, to swallow a small piece of the skin which the medicine-man had cut off from the neck of the trophy, 'in order to manifest that he was eating his enemy'. This custom is now seldom followed, and the piece of skin is generally simply thrown away. The priest thereupon grasps the victor by the wrist, makes him take the loin-cloth and the girdle, blows upon these pieces of clothing, and helps him to dress himself with them. The victor's hair is arranged. The priest helps him to comb it and to divide it into three pigtails--one large one behind and two smaller ones at the temples--as are customary among the Jibaros. The pigtails are tied round with the bands laid on the shield for this purpose. Then he in the same way receives the rest of the ornaments, the feather crown, the ear-sticks, etc., from the hands of the priest, who blows upon each article before he gives it to the victor. Likewise the victor paints his face red with ochre, with the assistance of the old man.

Even the wife of the victor is ceremonially dressed by the priest, receiving from his hands the female ornaments placed on the shield. [362]

During the whole of this dressing ceremony the women, conducted by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons acting.

The next thing that the victor as well as his wife and daughter have to do is to break the fast. In the women's quarters different kinds of food have previously been prepared. At a special fire leaves of the *Ilex* (*weisa*) have been cooked in a small pot. As soon as the drink is ready the priest pours a little of it into a gourd, mutters a conjuration over it and hands it to the victor, who washes his mouth with the solution, spitting it out thereafter. The priest makes the wife and daughter wash their mouths with *weisa* in the same way. All three are now properly purified to receive food.

Different kinds of food are brought on large banana leaves: on one leaf there is some swine's meat, fish, and manioc, as well as a little salt and *himya* or Indian pepper. On another banana leaf an entire boiled liver of one of the swine slaughtered has been placed. The priest gives tobacco juice to the victor through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth. Then he takes cautiously, with two fingers, a small piece of swines' flesh, mutters a conjuration over it, spits upon the ground, and gives the piece to the victor, who swallows it without touching it with his fingers. The latter subsequently receives from the hand of the old man a small piece of fish, a little manioc, as well as a pinch of salt and pepper. Thereupon the priest, with the same ceremonies, gives a little of the said dishes to the wife and daughter of the victor.

In return, the victor gives to the priest the swine's liver placed upon the other banana leaf 'as a tribute of gratitude for what the priest has done for him at the feast.' He handles the liver as carefully as possible, touching it merely with the tips of his fingers, and gives it to the priest, who bites off a mouthful of it. The rest of the liver is kept by the priest, who takes it to his home.

While these ceremonies have been going on, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons in the way described before.

The victor having been dressed and having broken his fast, the drinking of the manioc-wine, prepared with so much care, takes place. This ceremony is performed in the same way as the drinking of the manioc-beer after the washing of the trophy on the previous day. The men range in two rows from the door inward, standing according to age and dignity, the oldest ones nearest to the door. The wife of the [363] victor takes her stand in front of them in the middle of the house, holding the pot containing the wine in one hand and a small gourd in the other. The victor first steps forth to the woman and takes a draught from the gourd which she hands him. Then he goes back and fetches the priest and makes him drink in the same way from the gourd which the woman has meanwhile filled with wine. The same is repeated with each of the older warriors, who step forth by turns. After them the younger ones follow. However, according to the ceremonial only the older warriors, who themselves have killed some enemies and celebrated a victory-feast, are allowed really to drink of the wine. The younger men certainly step forth to the woman, but only make a show of drinking from the gourd she holds forth and in reality do not touch it with their lips. They are not yet considered as real warriors, because they have not killed an enemy. Similarly, no one of the women drinks of the liquor. What is left of the manioc-wine is kept by the priest to be consumed after the meal now beginning.

After the drinking ceremony just described the general banquet takes place at which the flesh of the swine and hens slaughtered during the night is consumed. This banquet has the same character as the meal taking place every morning after the principal ceremony of the day. However, it is considered essential that both the guests and the hosts should eat much, so that the whole supply of meat that exists is consumed. The best pieces of the swine and the hens are selected for the victor. The meal is considered ominous for the future. Just as the victor now eats much flesh of swine and hens, so there will not in the future--thanks to the mysterious favourable influence of the tsantsa--be any lack of such food in his house.

After the banquet the priest distributes the remainder of the manioc-wine among all the men, even the younger ones being now allowed to drink until the whole supply is exhausted.

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 727 (1928-29)

The final ceremony still remains to be performed with the victor, in which his hair is cut and his body painted black with genipa. The priest therein acts as before. Of the great pigtail which the victor wears behind he cuts off only the ends, but the smaller braids at the temples are completely removed. The hair cut off is laid on the shield and is kept by the victor. The hair cut on ceremonial occasions is used by the Jibaros for the preparation of the girdles of human hair which are worn by the men.

Thereupon follows the painting with genipa (sua). A small pot con-[364] taining the genipa solution is placed on the shield. The priest dips his fingers in the solution and coats the victor's whole face with it, drawing broad strokes along his breast and stomach, his back, arms, and legs. At this ceremony also the choir of the women, conducted by the priestess, assists.

Having finished these operations the priest addresses the men standing round him in much the following words: 'I have completed my task as a whuéa at this feast. What I have done now you may also do later when you grow old.'

The rest of the day is passed in the same way as during the previous days of the feast, drinking-bouts being held and solo dances being performed, in which the men and the women, as usual, make their appearance by pairs. Now just as before, the women generally accompany their dance with a sort of incantation.

When darkness sets in the last general night dance commences, which is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the usual bath in the river.

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727 (1928-29)

Early in the morning a small drinking-bout is held, whereupon the guests make themselves ready to depart and start to take leave of the hosts. The leave-taking has the same ceremonial character as the salutation at the arrival, each of the male guests addressing the victor and his relatives in a sort of speech. The words uttered, of course, have reference to the feast just finished: the splendid arrangements, the entertainment, the harmony prevailing, etc., are eulogized, and the guest in his turn invites the hosts to a visit. After this farewell ceremony, which lasts a long time, the men march off, accompanied by their wives and daughters.

After the great victory feast the Jibaro warrior generally undertakes a small journey, lasting a few days, just as he did after the previous smaller feasts. On this occasion he retires to the forest, where he stays alone, taking tobacco water, bathing every day in the waterfall, and sleeping at night in a small 'dreaming hut'. As soon as the black body painting had disappeared he returns home, where he finally drinks of the narcotic maikoa in order to see whether there are still enemies threatening him and whether everything will turn out happily for him in the future."

1: Karsten--365-368 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 771 (1928-29)

"The above description of the great victory-feast is based on my own direct observations during the visit I made to the house of the Jibaro Shakaima at Chiguaza on the upper Pastaza, a visit described by me before. In all I have been present at three victory-feasts of the Jibaro Indians, but the second and the third time I did not stay longer than two days, since I found that the ceremonies performed were exactly the same as those performed at the first feast. As I have stated, these ceremonies may vary in certain details among different Jibaro tribes, but the differences are insignificant and unessential. From inquiries I have made, I venture to assert that the ritual of the feast is remarkably uniform throughout the Jibaro country. It may be necessary to point out this, because the short descriptions hitherto appearing in the literature (for instance in Rivet's book on the Jibaros)are evidently not consistent with actual facts, being probably founded on the untrustworthy information given by the mestizos of Macas or other occasional visitors.

A few general remarks may be added as to the significance of the feast.

If we analyze the numerous ceremonies described above we find that all of them are founded upon certain fundamental ideas. First, that in the trophy (tsantsa) the spirit or soul of the killed enemy is seated; secondly, that the spirit, attached to the head, is thirsting for revenge and is trying to harm the slayer in every possible way; and thirdly, that if this danger is paralyzed through the different rites of the feast, the trophy is

1: Karsten--365-368 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 771 ( 1928-29)

changed into a 'fetish,' a thing charged with supernatural power which the victor may make use of in different ways and in different departments of life.

The idea that the soul or vital power of a person is concentrated in his head, and particularly in his hair, seems to be common to all lower peoples in the whole world and gives the explanation not only of a number [366] of peculiar hair customs, but especially the practice, existing among some savage tribes, of taking the scalps of slain enemies or preparing their heads as 'trophies'. At any rate the use which the Jibaros make of the heads of their enemies and the ceremonies which they perform with them are throughout founded upon this idea.

Again, the idea that the spirit of a murdered man is seized with desire for revenge and that his revengeful attitude is first of all directed against the slayer is also quite natural and universally met with in lower cultures. In regard to the Jibaros, the interest is especially attached to the childish and naive means by which the Indians fancy that they can keep the feared spirit at bay, and which are the same as those resorted to for keeping off a living human enemy. Thus the measure to keep the trophy tied to the murderous weapon, the 'demoniacal' chonta lance, the rattling with the shields at the most important ceremonies, the attempts to inspire the spirit with fear by making noises, by threatening movements and dancing, and to "wash off" its malignity and desire for revenge by washing the head ~~in a magical~~ solution, all illustrate, in different ways, the primitive conception that the Jibaros have about supernatural beings and the possibility of influencing them.

It seems somewhat more difficult, at first glance, to understand the fundamental idea mentioned in the third place, namely, that the trophy, if all rites are properly performed at the feast, is turned into a real fetish and becomes a source of blessing to the slayer himself and his whole family. The power which the trophy is supposed to possess, of course, is due to the spirit attached to it, just as the natural magical power of the living human body depends upon the soul or vitality inherent in it. The souls or spirits of dead men are endowed with a special energy and potency, and among the Jibaros, as among other South American Indians, all gods, spirits, and demons seem to be nothing but departed human souls. From this point of view there is hardly anything strange in the idea that the spirit of the killed enemy, over which the victor has acquired complete domination, is able to confer upon him all those material blessings which are mentioned as the most important effects of the tsantsa. Among many Indian tribes in Ecuador and elsewhere there prevails the custom that the surviving relatives offer a special cult to the deceased family father, in which different kinds of food, drinks, etc., are laid upon his tomb. If the departed spirit is satisfied with this cult, he is believed to reward his loving relatives by making their fields flourish and bear fruit, and by increasing their domestic animals, that [367] is, by bestowing exactly the same benefits as are expected from the head-trophy duly initiated. The difference between this religious act and the mode of treating the spirit of a slain enemy adopted by the Jibaro Indians appears to be that in the former case we are dealing with a real cult with offerings, while in the latter we are dealing with a purely magical conjuration which is supposed to exert an irresistible force upon the being influenced. That the Jibaros consider the latter means the more effective appears from the extraordinary importance ascribed to the so-called Einsupani feast. Some of the ceremonies at this feast also, as we have seen, have for their object to increase by artificial means the natural power of the trophy, in much the same way as an electric battery is charged with electric force.

A curious idea appears in the victory-feast in that the victor himself on the one hand, is believed to be in danger from the spirit of the killed enemy, but on the other hand, on account of his having gained possession of the enemy's head, is invested with a special mysterious power. Moreover, he is able to transfer this power by contact to other persons and to things. This explains why the victor must, in the way that we have seen, assist, for instance, at the brewing of the manioc-wine for the feast and at the preparation of the sacred drink natéma. Similarly, something of his power is transferred to his wife and daughter and may, through them, become active in agriculture and in certain other departments of life.

With a similar mysterious power the priest (whuéa) and the priestess (oháha) are endowed. As a 'priest' or conductor of the ceremonies at the feast, as stated before, only an old warrior can officiate who himself has killed at least one enemy and celebrated a victory-feast. His insight, experience, valour, and other prominent military qualities acquired during a long life, and especially the magical power he has acquired by slaying his enemies, seems to be conceived almost as a physical reality, and his powers can, like that of the victor, in a certain degree be transferred to other people. It is for this reason that he always holds the hand of the victor at the most important ceremonies, the idea being that the action in question will thus have more emphasis and importance. The same holds good of the priestess, through whose cooperation all actions performed by the women, and particularly by the wife and daughter of the victor, secure the tone and stress necessary.

The important role that the women in general play at this feast of the warriors is actually due to the fact that the principal object of the tsantsa is to promote those phases of the economic life of the Indians [368] with which the women have most to do, first of all agriculture and the increase of the domestic animals. The mysterious power with which the victor himself is invested will automatically extend to thos persons with whom he is intimately related, and when there are two female relatives

1: Karsten--365-368 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 771 (1928-29)

assisting at the ceremonies--in this case his wife and his daughter--its effects upon that department of life will be so much the stronger. The same idea appeared in regard to the 'tobacco feast', where two female relatives of the principal person of the feast had likewise to assist.

The tsantsa of the Jibaro Indians, thus, is not a 'trophy' in the common sense of the word; not exclusively a mark of distinction or a visible proof that an enemy has been killed. The Jibaro warrior not only tries to take the life of his enemy, but above everything wants to secure control of his soul. Conformably to this, the so-called Einsupani is not merely a victory-feast in the sense familiar to us, but at the same time, and in the first place, a kind of mystery feast which, when we are able to penetrate into its real meaning, throws an interesting light not only upon the social life of these Indians in general and the ideas they connect with their wars, but also upon their, in some respects, rather far-reaching religious views."

1: Karsten--371-372 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros in their pagan state have no notion of a Supreme Being and a Creator of the world. Some Indians on the Upano mention the Christian God under the name of Yusa (a corruption of the Spanish Dios), but they know practically nothing else about the religion of the apachi (their name for the whites), which to their mind has little or nothing to do with the supernatural beings in whom they believe themselves. However, the religion of the Jibaros can by no means be called a pure demonology, nor are their religious practices reduced to mere magic, as has frequently been said to be the case among the primitive tribes east of the Andes. In connection with the agricultural rites and the 'tobacco feast of the women' we have already made acquaintance with religious ideas which may be termed lofty, and with a worship where a magical element can hardly be recognized. We have seen that the Jibaros believe in two higher deities, the Earth-mother Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma, revered as the mother and father of the whole Jibaro culture; but these deities have little in common with the Supreme Beings which are reported to exist among several other low races in different parts of the world. The great benevolent Earth-[372] mother of the Jibaros and her loyal husband Shakaëma, although they are neither regarded as creators of the world nor as moral beings in the strict sense, are nevertheless of singular interest, being as they are in any case genuine creations of primitive Indian imagination."

1: Karsten--372-373 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775 (1928-29)

"As to the worship paid to the Earth-mother and her consort there is hardly anything to add to what I have stated before. But besides these, the religious ideas and practices of the Jibaros have reference to supernatural beings of a lower order, to souls, spirits and demons of which there are many different classes. The Indians have two words for denoting a spirit or demon: wakáni and iguánchi. The word wakáni may be translated into 'soul' or 'shadow'. Human souls disembodied temporarily, for instance in dreams, or permanently in death, are called wakáni, as is also the shadow reflected in water or on the ground, or in a mirror. Any image or likeness of a man--for instance a photograph--is called his wakáni or soul, but the Indians apply this name especially to the spiritual part of man separated from his body at death. There is a certain difference between the wakáni of a dead man and for instance the 'shadow' of a living person, which will be explained later on. That the Jibaros, when I first met them, strongly objected to being photographed has been mentioned by me before; they believed that with my camera I 'took their souls' (wakáni), of which the consequence might be disease and death, or at any rate undue mysterious influence over the person photographed. The word wakáni however is also used in a more comprehensive sense, to signify a supernatural being in general. There are wakáni or souls not only in men, but also in animals, in plants, in heavenly bodies, and in other objects of nature. The whole air swarms with these spiritual beings appearing in different shapes, especially as animals,

1; Karsten--372-373 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 775 (1928-29)

but as a rule they can be seen only by those intoxicated by natéma or other intoxicating drinks. There appears to be no essential difference between the human souls and souls inhabiting animals, plants, and inanimate objects; the latter too seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls. Or more strictly speaking, the Jibaros know only one chief kind of spirit or soul which inhabit men, animals, and inanimate objects of nature, or lead an entirely independent existence as evil demons, and which may occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. The Jibaros thus, like most other South American Indians, are familiar with the idea of the transmigration and reincarnation of souls, but this doctrine is not worked into a regular system of thought and is still less associated with moral ideas of any kind. [373]

Although all wakáni--especially the wakáni of dead persons--awaken uncanny feelings in the Indians and are therefore always more or less feared, yet some of them are believed to be more evil-disposed to mankind than the rest. The most evil and most powerful of the spirits are called iguánchi. All iguánchi are wakáni, but all wakáni are not necessarily iguánchi. The souls of persons who have been particularly feared in life, especially the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers, are believed to be changed into iguánchi after death. The souls of enemies killed in war also figure among this dangerous class of demons. The iguánchi however appear in many different shapes. Sometimes they appear in shadowy human-like forms, or as living Indians wearing

1: Karsten--372-373 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 775 (1928-29)

beautiful feather ornaments and painted red in the face. Mostly, however the demons assume the shape of different animal beings, of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and even insects. 'Animal worship' among the Jibaros, if we may speak of such a thing, seems to refer in most cases to human souls reincarnated in animals. Generally these are the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers who temporarily take the shape of different animal beings in order to harm or kill other people. --In no case are animals regarded as totems, either of individuals or of groups; totemism is a religious or social system which is entirely unknown to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 825, 775 ( 1928-29)

"Theoretically all animals, as also the plants, have a soul just as men have. But the role which the animals play in the religion of the Indians depends wholly on the importance they have in their practical life. Animals which distinguish themselves by their strength and ferocity, their peculiar appearance or habits of life, or their harmful effects, of course first become the objects of superstitious beliefs. Below I shall account for the most important spirits and demons of the Jibaros, beginning with those appearing in animal shape.

Some of the most formidable *iguánchi* appear in the shape of certain hairy animals of the wood, chiefly the black monkey (*washi*), the bear (*cheiva*), and the deer (*hápa*). The ordinary black monkey (*Ateles niger*) is much appreciated by the Indians both because of its flesh which is eaten, its fur, and its teeth, and is therefore much hunted. The animal which they fear as a demon, however is not exactly identical with the 'natural' black monkey. The *washi iguánchi* is in fact a purely mythical being; it is much bigger than the real black monkey, it does not climb the trees but walks on the ground on two legs like a human being, and is said to move about on the paths of the forest especially at night. [374] To meet this demon means for the Indian almost certain death. The *iguánchi* seizes him and kills him or takes him away to his mysterious dwellings. Dead men and the souls of enemies killed in battle mostly appear in this shape.

Exactly the same may be said of the bear demon (*cheiva iguánchi*). The south

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

American bear (Ursus albifrons) is comparatively small and is not particularly feared by the natives. Like the demoniacal black monkey, the bear demon is a mythical being which is much bigger and far more formidable than the "natural" animal. The Indians therefore fear extremely to meet it in the darkness, believing that then they will die. Only when met in the dream produced by the narcotic drinks is it, like other iguánchi, supposed to be harmless and even friendly to man.

On the other hand, the timid and innocent deer is feared and always looked upon as a most formidable iguanchi. We here meet with a curious superstition which the Jibaros seem to share with nearly all primitive Indian tribes in south America. The Jibaros never eat the flesh of the deer, believing that if they do they will certainly die, and if they kill the animal, it is only to sell its flesh to the whites. The souls of people particularly feared in life take the shape of the deer after death, but there seems to be the belief that the souls of women also prefer to reincarnate themselves in this animal. The latter idea is naturally due to the timidity of the deer, just as its soundless movements and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears in the forest easily suggest to the primitive Indian mind the idea of a ghost.

Much the same belief is held of the tapir (pamá), which is likewise looked upon as an iguanchi although it is not feared to the same extent as the deer. The Jibaros therefore avoid the flesh of the tapir nearly as carefully as that of the deer. With its pointed

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

snout and the whistling sound which it produces the animal is supposed to be able to bewitch people: the soul of a sorcerer may have temporarily taken up his abode in it. A similar superstition relating to the tapir is known to prevail among some other South American tribes.

Naturally among the iguánchi or demons the largest and most dangerous carnivorous animals of South America also figure, i. e. the jaguar and the smaller species of the feline family. Among this class of demoniacal animals the following are mentioned: the soacha or great black jaguar, the largest of all felidae in South America; further, the shia-shia, yambinga, yawára, different kinds of the spotted jaguar; the hapayawára, i. e. the puma or South American lion; and lastly the amicha, yantána, [375] and unduchama, different kinds of small tiger cats. All these beasts are particularly feared because it is believed that the souls of the medicine-men reincarnate themselves in them in order to kill their enemies. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer is supposed to be able occasionally to transform himself into a jaguar in order to bewitch people. If a jaguar attacks and kills an Indian, or if he only takes one of his swine or dogs, it is inmediately [sic] clear to the rest that an enemy sorcerer has been operating, who took the form of the wild beast in order to carry out his evil designs. Likewise, medicine-men in the form of jaguars or tiger cats are believed to send disease. Hence, when a medicine-man is curing a patient, among different demoniacal animals who may be supposed to have sent the evil, he also mentions the jaguar and the tiger cats. On the other

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

hand, these beasts also figure among the animal demons who appear to the Indians in the dreams induced by maikoa or natéma and who are called arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The jaguar demons who appear to the Indian in the narcotic sleep are considered by them as dead ancestors. I shall have occasion to mention these again as well as other arútama in connection with the narcotic drinks.

Other animals which at least occasionally appear as iguánchi or demons are the great otter (wangánimi), the nose-bear (Nasua rufa, called kúshi by the Jibaros), the ant-bear (wishvishi), and the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai). The first mentioned, the great otter, even figures among the arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The nose-bear and the ant-bear are supposed to be able to bewitch people with their long and pointed snout. The former is also regarded with superstition because of its disagreeable smell, and its flesh is therefore not eaten. The otter and the paca again bewitch people with their long whiskers. The whiskers of these animals are used by the sorcerers for the same purpose.

Among water demons there is also the dolphin, called bufeo in Spanish and apúpa in the Jibaro language, an animal quite common in the Amazonian rivers. This animal is in the habit of following the canoes passing on the rivers, frequently emerging from the surface of the water to take breath. The Indians believe that it may bewitch people, since it produces the same sound as the sorcerers when, blowing and whistling, they

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

send off their magic arrow against their enemies. The *apúpa*, which in reality is a perfectly harmless animal, is therefore feared by the Jibaros as a dangerous *wishinyu* or sorcerer.

Much more feared, however, is another water monster living in the Amazonian rivers and lagoons, namely, the great water boa or anaconda [376] (*Eunectes murinus*). The Jibaros call it *pangi*, sometimes also in their magical incantations using the Quichua name *amárun*. The anaconda is in fact the worst of all the demons that people the spiritual world of the Indians. The Jibaros only share a belief in regard to this monster which seems to be common to all Indians in tropical South America. The great boa is the father of witchcraft, it is from his body that the medicine-men get the poison with which they themselves are impregnated and the magical arrow (*tunchi*) which they let off against people whom they want to harm. Both after death and in their lifetime the souls of the medicine-men are supposed to be able to transmigrate into the anaconda, and when the Indians kill such a monster they say that it is an evil wizard that they have killed. The largest specimens of the anaconda the Jibaros do not even touch with their hands after having killed them, for fear of the evil effects arising from coming in contact with the demon, but the skin of the smaller boas is often made into broad cinctures to which great magical power is ascribed. Since the anaconda is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, it is natural that it should also be regarded as the author of all

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

diseases attributed to sorcery. Hence the pangi together with his 'brother', the tsungi, is regularly mentioned in the magical conjurations by which the medicine-men try to cure disease.

As to the latter demon, the tsungi, I have not been able to ascertain whether it is only a mythical water monster or a real living animal. The tsungi is described as a woman-like being with long hair and large breasts, living in caves in water-pools and lagoons just as does his 'brother' the pangi. As authors of witchcraft both demons have the same importance, and the tsungi figures side by side with the pangi in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Not only the great boa serpent but also other kinds of reptiles play an important part in the religion of the Jibaros. Thus the great caiman or crocodile (kanyátsa), which attacks people swimming in the rivers, is an iguánchi and even is reckoned among the arútama. Far more feared, however, are the demons which appear in the shape of venomous snakes. About such reptiles all Ecuadorian Indians seem to have the same idea: with the sting of the poisonous snake an evil spirit enters the body of the patient. But the Jibaros go still further in their theory: the wakáni or iguánchi which entered the person stung and caused his death was in fact nothing but the demoniacal soul of a sorcerer who had taken the shape of the reptile in order to kill his enemy.

The Indians make a distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' [377] or demoniacal snakes, the latter being snakes in which the soul of a sorcerer has temporarily taken up its abode. The Jibaros call such a snake tunchima, i.e. 'bewitched'. If a non-poisonous snake bites, or if the bite of a venomous snake did not cause the person bitten any particular harm, this was only a 'natural' snake-bite. If, on the other hand, the person died in consequence of it, the snake was tunchima. Persons bitten by 'bewitched' snakes, therefore, generally die or can only be cured by the magic art of other sorcerers. How the medicine-men proceed when curing such patients we shall see later on.

Few phenomena of the animal world have impressed the primitive Indian mind so strongly as the venomous snakes. By their peculiar appearance, their soundless movements, and especially by their mysterious death-bringing sting they are, in fact, most likely to give rise to superstitious beliefs. Thus the venomous reptiles seem to have suggested to the Indian sorcerers the ideas upon which their magic art is based. Moreover, as pointed out before, the arrow-poison is probably originally nothing but an imitation of the snakes' poison, the same superstitious ideas being connected with the one as with the other.

The spirits and demons also frequently appear in the shape of birds. The ideas held of certain birds are exactly the same as those held of certain animals and reptiles. Generally the demoniacal birds are associated with the medicine-men and sorcerers who use them as their agents in order to carry out their evil designs against other people. Like a jaguar or a snake, a bird may be tunchima or 'bewitched'. This means that a sorcerer has hidden his own soul or his death-bringing magic arrow (tunchi) into the bird with a view to shooting it off at the person he wants to harm. The spirits or souls of dead persons, both men and women, may also reincarnate themselves in birds, which are then looked upon as 'magical'.

In regard to the birds of which such superstitious beliefs are held, it is to be noted that all of them are distinguished by some peculiarity in their appearance or habits of life, or by their sounds. All individuals of a species are not necessarily iguánchi but they may occasionally appear as such. There are 'natural' and 'supernatural' birds, just as there are 'natural' and 'supernatural' snakes and jaguars. Thus the largest birds of prey of South America, the condor (yápu), the great eagle or harpy (unta pinchu), the hawk (pinchu), and the owl (ambúsha), are often looked upon as evil demons, especially if they attack men or domestic animals or appear under unusual circumstances. The owl, [378] being a nocturnal bird, is regarded by all Indians as a messenger from the spirit world. The Jibaros believe that the souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl. Other demoniacal birds are the black vulture (chuánga), the tucan (tsukánga), the great macaw or arara parrot, both the red one (takúmbi) and the yellow one (yambúna), with a common name called yusa, as well as the ordinary green parrot (kávashu). All these birds, together with the pelican (kauá) and the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea, called sumga by the Jibaros) are also mentioned among the arútama and appear to the Indians in narcotic sleep. Feared as bearers of the magic arrow are also the mango (chui), the umbrella-bird (Cephalopterus ornatus, called ungúmi in the Jibaro language) and most nocturnal birds. Among the latter, in addition to the owl, two deserve to be especially mentioned: the kuikui, a small bird which moves about whistling at night, bewitching people, and the uichúchu, another small bird with a long tail and almost green in colour, which leaves its resting-place upon the rocks at night and approaches the habitations of men, producing the cry from which it takes its name. The Indians say that the uichúchu, when sent by a sorcerer, carries the magic arrow far away to other places, bringing disease and death to the people there. The small nocturnal bird is therefore greatly feared and is often mentioned in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Various smaller animals, fish, and insects play a part in the superstition of the Jibaros because of the spines, prickles, or stings with which their body is provided by nature. The medicine-men and sorcerers, in their magic art, often make use of similar spines or stings. Such animals are for instance the hedgehog (kúru) and a sort of armadillo which the Jibaros call tuicha. I shall mention some instances illustrating the

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 825, 775 ( 1928-29)

Indian belief as to fish and insects when dealing with the medicine-men. Here I shall only add that the butterfly (wambishku) is looked upon by the Jibaros as a wakáni or soul, a belief which is also found among other South American tribes."

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

"The plant spirits have hardly less importance in the religion of the Jibaros than the animal spirits. It is indeed a belief in the animistic philosophy of the Indians, that all trees and plants are animated by spirits or souls just as men and animals are. Nor does the wakáni of a plant differ in essence from the wakáni of a man or an animal. According to the mythology of the Jibaros all animals have once been men, and similarly in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that ani-[379]mate them temporarily may, either for a long or short period, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thought and feelings, and when intoxicated by the narcotic drinks prepared from certain plants the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definitive human form, namely, as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with the same view. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be 'men', i.e. to have a man's soul, others --in fact the majority of them--are said to be 'women', i.e. have a woman's soul.

The growth of trees and plants and the ripening of their fruits is due to the wakáni or soul inhabiting them. But, of course, only such trees and plants have a place in the religion and superstition of the Indians as are particularly useful or distinguished by

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

some striking properties. Thus real worship is accorded to the garden plants, the manioc, the banana, the maize, the beans, the earth-nuts, etc., in connection with the cult of Nungüi mentioned before. Nungüi nua, the mythical Jibaro woman, created all fruits in the beginning and still reigns over them. In the different plant spirits--those which, like the manioc, the beans and the earth-nuts, are of the female sex--there is something of her own spirit; she alone, therefore, is able to give an abundant crop to the women cultivating them. On the other hand, for such garden plants as are supposed to be of the male sex--as for instance the banana and the maize--the Jibaro men who have to cultivate these plants appeal to the mythical husband of Nungüi, Shakaíma, who presides over them and influences their growth and fertility. What the religion of the Jibaros has to show of real worship or cult is mainly illustrated in the prayers and incantations addressed to Nungüi and Shakaíma in agriculture.

Of trees that have great value for the Jibaros from an alimental point of view the chontaruru palm (Guilielma) is the most important. Its excellent fruit is the food most appreciated by the Indians for a couple of months of the year, and perhaps still more appreciated is the fermented beer that they make from it. The chontaruru palm has a man's wakáni or soul and is therefore planted and tended by the men. At the time of the year when the fruit grows ripe great festivals are held in connection with the preparation of the beer and the beer-drinking, dances being performed and incantations sung in order

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

to [380] 'hurry on' the ripening and increase of the fruit and the fermentation of the beer.

On the other hand the chonta palm, both the one cultivated for the sake of its useful fruit and the wild species (shingi), are also regarded as 'demoniacal' trees on account of their large thorns, which play an important part in Indian witchcraft. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-men make frequent use of chonta thorns when they want to bewitch their enemies, as we shall see later on. From this point of view the spirit of the chonta palm is an evil demon or iguánchi, a belief which in part is also due to the iron hard wood of this tree. Not only the thorns but also other parts of the chonta palm are often used for magic purposes. Thus the lance made of chonta wood is supposed to possess magical power and to inspire not only living men but also spirits and demons with dread. Hence at the great victory-feast of the Jibaros the head trophy (tsantsa) is always tied to a chonta lance when it is not needed for the ceremonies. The spirit of the killed enemy is thus kept under restraint or control.

Other trees connected with the religion or superstition of the Jibaros are for instance the genipa tree (Genipa americana); and the guayusa tree (Ilex). From the genipa fruit the Indians get the black dye (sua), with which they paint the body and face for warfare and on certain ceremonial occasions, and to which a magical power is ascribed. The Jibaros say that they paint themselves black for warfare 'in order to resemble the

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

iguánchi'. The genipa is therefore a 'demoniacal' paint. Similar supernatural virtues are ascribed to the decoction made of the leaves of the guayusa tree (weisa), which has great importance as a tonic and a means of purification.

The most popular magical paint of the Indians is prepared from the red seeds of the bush Bixa orellana, which is one of the sacred trees of the Jibaros. With this red dye (called ipyáku) the Jibaros paint the face for many different ends, e. g. as protection against disease and witchcraft or in general to acquire strength and power of resistance, to gain the love of women, and so forth. The wonderful properties of the paint is due to the spirit which animates the tree.

Poisonous plants and plants with extraordinarily strong properties, for instance those used for the preparation of the arrow-poison and such as play a part in the medicine of the Indians, are believed to be animated by dangerous spirits or demons to whom these striking properties are due. Hence the precautions taken, for instance, at the preparation of the [381] arrow-poison, when the sorcerer who cooks the poison is supposed to be fighting an evil demon whom he subdues, and whose power he uses for his own ends. The idea is exactly the same as that held in regard to the fermented drinks prepared from manioc, chontaruru, etc., the strength of which is likewise due to the spirits inhabiting the plants.

Other plants which play an important part in the magical medicine and religion of the

1; Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 774, 824 ( 1928-29)

Indians are, for instance, those comprehended under the general name of varvasco and used partly for fishing, partly for the preparation of the arrow-poison, as well as the narcotic plants tobacco, natéma, and maikoa. The former have been mentioned before in connection with the Indian fishing customs, and the latter will presently be treated in detail. All these plants illustrate, in a most characteristic way, the Indian belief in plant spirits."

1: Karsten--381-382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover extend their animistic ideas to the heavenly bodies and phenomena, and to inanimate objects of nature. A Jibaro myth tells us that the sun, the moon, and the stars have once been men living on the earth, and certain magical ideas, current among most South American Indians, are held about the moon, but no traces of a real belief in a sun or moon spirit are to be found and still less of a cult of these heavenly bodies. The Indians seem to consider that they are too far off and have not enough influence upon human affairs to be worshipped. On the other hand, striking phenomena of nature which sometimes threaten their welfare, such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, are always set down to supernatural causes. The thunder, the Jibaros say, is caused by a great number of shuara (enemies) --i.e. spirits of dead Jibaro warriors--who with such a noise are making their assaults upon the Indians. During heavy thunderstorms, therefore, the Jibaro men are seen brandishing their lances against the clouds, jumping, shouting, and challenging their invisible supernatural assailants with the same words that they shout against their natural enemies: winiti, winiti, páhei, 'may you come, I am ready!' The Jibaros therefore call the thunder shuara mányamai, or shuara ipyámwai, that is, 'the enemies are fighting'. The lightning (chǎreimbi) is also an old Jibaro warrior, one of those ancestors of the Jibaro race who are called arútama and which appear to the Indian when

1: Karsten--381-382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
*116*, 774, 821 (1928-29)

narcotized by tobacco, *natéma*, or *maikoa*. Among the same powerful demons figure some other striking heavenly phenomena, namely, the rainbow (*tundyáka*) and the meteors and comets or shooting stars, called by the common name *payára* ('a falling thing'). [382]

Earthquakes (*urkai*) are caused by powerful *iguánchi* in the earth, who are shaking their bodies.

Of stupendous phenomena of nature which have particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros one more must be mentioned: it is the violent hurricane(*nássi*), which frequently appears in the South American virgin forests, passing over a comparatively limited area and marking its way by terrible destruction among the trees and bushes. The Jibaros ascribe the hurricane to one of their worst *iguánchi*, who also figures among the *arútama*."

1: Karsten--382-383 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 776, 823 (1928-29)

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

1: Karsten--382-383 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 774, 776, 823 (1928-29)

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where *iguánchi* is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (*sása* or *paccha*) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks *natéma* or *maikoa* in the forest, always takes a bath in a *sása* in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

1: Karsten--382-383 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 774, 776, 823 (1928-29)

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

3

1: Karsten--383-385 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774 (1928-29)

"Even an element like fire is supposed to have a soul. 'The fire is a woman', that is, has a female soul or wakáni. Hence the women must tend the fire and perform the most important work done with the aid of the fire, namely, cook the food. Yet the fire is not deified by the Jibaros, and there is no question of a fire-cult.

The animistic philosophy of the Jibaros goes so far as to ascribe wakáni or souls even to objects made by the human hand. Thus utensils and weapons, clay pots and plates, the web and the distaff, needles, knives, lances, blowguns, shields, etc., are endowed with an animating principle. When the Indians are narcotised by natéma or maikoa, the spirits of such implements and weapons appear to them among other demons in the shape of young men. These animistic ideas have a great influence upon the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros.

From what has been stated above it appears that the supernatural beings appear to the Indians in many different shapes, the demons taking [384] human or animal shape being however perhaps the most feared. These demons move about especially at night, and their favourite dwelling-place is the forest. The Indian therefore fears darkness and he particularly fears to enter the woods, where the iguánchi may meet him in the shape of a jaguar, a venomous snake, or in other terrifying forms. The iguánchi live in the densest thickets of the virgin forest, or sit in the tops of its giant trees. If the tree is beaten with a heavy stick, the demon is supposed to get frightened and to start, and then the whole ground trembles. At times the iguánchi makes something fall down from

1: Karsten--383-385 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 776 (1928-29)

the tree which looks like burning copal; but before the burning drops reach the ground they disappear. Any accident or mishap which happens to the Indian whilst wandering in the forest is set down to the evil designs of an iguánchi, or to a malicious sorcerer operating through such a demon. When a fainting-fit or a sudden illness befalls the Indian in the virgin forest--such cases seem to be of comparatively frequent occurrence --this is also imputed to the iguánchi. An Indian thus attacked by the demon gives a shout. If he is sufficiently near the house to be heard, there arises a terrible hubbub. All the people of the house dash out followed by the barking dogs, shouting and screaming loudly and making a noise by beating drums and striking the stems of trees with sticks and pulled-up roots. This is done in order to frighten away the demon. Once, a Jibaro told me, a kinsman of his had been attacked by two iguánchi in the forest and been carried home in a senseless condition. These iguánchi, he added, were two Jibaro men of a well-known family, who had died some time before.

The demons are also believed to carry off people, especially small children, and to take them to their own dwellings in the densest thickets of the forest, where they will remain for ever.

The iguánchi even attacks sick persons while they lie in their beds at home. The demon then appears to the patient especially in a dream, speaking to him and singing a song in seductive strains in order to entice his soul to follow him to his mysterious habitation in the wood. 'Follow me', he says, 'I have a nice house, and women and dogs and plenty of food and *nihamánchi* (manioc-beer)!'. He also tries to allure him by the following words:

*Tússimie nu, yungangá,*
*Núkuchie nu, yungangá,*
*Tússimie nu, núkuchie nu,*
*yungangá!* [385]

This means more or less:

'My little father, come along!
My little mother, come along!
My little father, my little mother,
come along!'

If the sick person in the dream listens to these enticements of the *iguánchi,* his soul will follow him into the wood, where he will see the house of *iguánchi* such as the demon has described it. But with this his fate is sealed and he will return to his home and his bed only to die. Everybody that listens to the enticements of *iguánchi* must die.

The *iguánchi,* as we have seen, can be frightened away by natural means, as by shouts and making noises. All demons likewise fear the murderous weapon of the Jibaro Indians, the chonta lance, as well as the rattling din of the shields. Action of

1: Karsten--383-385 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 774 (1928-29)

this kind occurs as a magical ceremony at the victory-feasts. More than anything else the demons are said to fear rifle-shots."

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

"The animistic ideas of the Canelos Indians do not differ essentially from those of the Jibaros. Thus the animal and plant demons and other nature spirits are in the main the same in both tribes. For spirit and demon, the Canelos Indians use the names *aya* and *supai*, corresponding to the *wakáni* and the *iguánchi* of the Jibaros. *Aya* thus means 'soul' or 'ghost', and *supai* 'demon' in the proper sense of the word. But there is no essential difference between the two kinds of spirits. As far as I can see, the animism of the Canelos Indians is also based on the principle of the deification of the dead: all *supai* are really the spirits of dead persons, especially spirits of departed medicine-men or sorcerers.

The spirits or demons appear to the Canelos Indians partly in human forms, partly in the shape of different animal beings, and are also believed to inhabit plants and inanimate natural objects. They reveal their existence especially by unexpected incidents and by accidents befalling people. The following are the most important *supai* or demons of these Indians.

One of the most formidable demons is the jaguar demon, *puma supai*, which may appear in the shape of any beast of the feline family known to the Indians. There are 'natural' jaguars and the demoniacal jaguars, the latter being such as attack man or otherwise harm him. The general idea prevailing among the Canelos Indians is that the souls of the sorcerers have temporarily reincarnated themselves in such beasts--

a belief that seems to be common to all South American Indians. There are different kinds of cat demons corresponding to the different kinds of felidae: Yana huagra puma supai is the cat demon appearing in the shape of the great black jaguar, the largest of the felidae in South America, which was formerly common in the regions round Canelos and greatly feared by natives. Inchic puma supai is the smaller spotted [387] jaguar, still common in the forests of Eastern Ecuador; huituc puma supai (huituc=Genipa americana, which affords the black dye used for body painting), a small tiger-cat with black spots on the fell 'as if painted with huituc'. It causes the Indians considerable loss by killing and eating their fowls.

Since the spirits incarnated in all these beasts are generally souls of medicine-men or sorcerers, they are also believed to inflict evils in a supernatural way and especially to send disease. Hence the different kinds of puma are, among other demons, summoned by the medicine-men when curing bewitched persons.

Not only professional medicine-men but aged persons in general, who are mostly credited with the art of sorcery, are often believed to transform themselves into jaguars both after death and even in their lifetime. Thus at Sarayacu on the Bobonaza I was told about a very old man who was said to change himself occasionally into a jaguar, afterwards again taking human shape. He went into the wood as a man and reappeared as a tiger. His footprints were first seen like those of a man, but farther in the forest they

1: Karsten--386-390　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro-3
116, 774, 825　　(1928-29)

were changed into the tracks of the beast. Appearing in this shape, he threatened even his nearest relatives and was therefore greatly feared. This story is characteristic of the Indian belief in man-tigers, as it is found in different parts of South America.

The deer (*taruga*) and the tapir (*sacha huagra*) were formerly looked upon as demoniacal animals by the Canelos Indians also, and their flesh was not eaten. Nowadays, however, the Indians have given up this superstition and eat the flesh of both these animals. They even have a special liking for the flesh of the deer, because, they say, by eating it they will become swift-footed like that animal.

*Huaira supai*, 'the wind demon' is a supernatural being resembling a monkey, which is seen flying through the air. He is regarded as the particular demon of disease-bringing winds and is much feared by the Indians.

*Yana rumi supai*, 'the demon of the black stones', appears to people intoxicated by the narcotic *aya huasca* as an Indian sitting upon great black stones in the lagoons. A purely mythical being.

*Huas runa supai*, a white woman-like form which is seen to rise from the water of the lagoons into the air and is believed to send disease. This demon, which is also known under the name *yacu supai*, ('the water demon'), is therefore summoned by the medicine-men. [388]

*Cucha pillan supai*, a human-like being which is said to resemble a monk, with

1: Karsten--366-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
776, 774, 825 (1928-29)

plumes on the head. He is seen near lagoons, but is said to be a harmless being.

Uri-uri supai, a being described as half Indian, half monkey. He is seen near the lagoons in the forest, where he goes about shooting with a blowgun. He sends disease and is therefore invoked by the sorcerers.

Amasánga supai, a demon appearing in the shape of an Indian, who moves about in the wood at night bewitching people; also known under the name sacha runa, 'the man of the wood'. He is said to be a very malicious being and is likewise summoned by the sorcerers.

Huangána supai, the ant-bear. He is said to go about 'blowing a cornet' and bewitching people. An evil demon who is summoned by the sorcerers.

Atacápi or curaga supai, a demon resembling a buck which is seen in the neighbourhood of lagoons and rivers. He is evil and summoned in the conjurations of the sorcerers.

Cahua supai is an animal demon of the size of a dog, entirely black and with a long tail. I am not certain whether it is a real animal or a purely mythical one. Generally two are seen together, 'one leading the other by a liana'. The animal is a supai. When an Indian goes alone in the woods, it attacks him, seizes his leg with its long tail, and takes away his soul. The demon is believed to say to the Indian 'Now I take your soul because of your sins'. The Indian thus caught will die. The Indians therefore never kill this animal and run away as soon as they see it in the wood.

Among the demons who appear in the shape of reptiles the great water boa or anaconda, amárum supai, is the most important. The Canelos Indians hold exactly the same ideas with regard to this monster as the Jibaros. He is the father of witchcraft and the chief of the demons, and has them all assembled in the river. The amárum supai is especially said to haunt the cataracts and other dangerous places in the rivers where accidents easily occur to the Indians when travelling in canoes. He is also called yacu supai, 'the water demon'. A boa serpent, seen in the neighbourhood of a house, is regarded as the incarnation of a malicious wizard who is trying to carry out his evil designs against the inhabitants. Old men and sorcerers are also believed to reincarnate themselves in boas after death, just as they may transform themselves into tigers. The Indians never touch a dead boa with their hands, lest their body [389] should become scaly like that of the serpent. If they shoot it with a gun, the barrel, according to their idea, will burst, or some other accident will occur. If they shoot it with a poisoned arrow, the arrow-poison will thereafter entirely loose its efficacy. Generally the Indians attack the anaconda with long harpoons of chonta.

Any venomous snake is believed to appear occasionally--that is, when it attacks and does harm to man or domestic animals--as a supai or as the agent of an evil sorcerer. Among these demons there are for instance the rattle snake, mutúlu supai, and the ekis

(Lachesis) called pitalála, the most dangerous venomous snakes in the Ecuadorian forests.

As to bird demons, the same ideas are held as among the *Jibaros*. Various birds may appear as the agents of the sorcerers, carrying their bewitching arrows (chunta). Such a bird is for instance the tucan, of which family two species are mentioned: sicuánga supai, the ordinary great tucan (called predicador or diostedé in Spanish), the predominant colour of which is white; and yaulíri supai, the predominant colour of which is brown. Both these tucans are regarded as evil demons which bewitch people with their large beaks.

When a *Jibaro* or a Canelos man has to fast on account of the birth of a son, he abstains among other things from eating the tucan, believing that otherwise his newborn babe will be bewitched. Normally the tucan is eaten by the Indians, and its brilliant feathers, to which a magical power is ascribed, are particularly appreciated.

Mucuhálu, a kind of the common bird which in Spanish is called mangu, brown in colour, is looked upon with the same superstition as the tucan. It is believed to be sent by the sorcerers and to bring disease and is therefore invoked in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Yana mangu supai is another kind of mangu, black in colour. This bird demon is also invoked by the medicine-men.

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

*Shili-shili* supai is a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls in the forest and is believed to send disease, producing the sound from which it takes its name.

*Bullu-cúcu* is the onomatopoeic name of another bird, as large as a chicken, which moves about at night bewitching people.

*Supai pishcu*, 'the devil's bird', is another nocturnal bird living near small lagoons and producing a whistling sound which fills the Indians with superstitious fear. When it moves round the houses at night whistling, it is believed to bewitch the people living there. The Indians, [390]hearing the cry of the *supai pishcu*, are therefore in the habit of firing shots into the air in order to frighten it away.

*Chunta pishcu* is a beautiful green bird which is likewise regarded with superstition because of its nocturnal cry. Like other demoniacal birds it is believed to send disease.

The hawk (*anga*) may be the incarnation of a *supai*. This demon is especially said to have intercourse with women at night, during sleep. A woman visited by the *anga supai* is likely to give birth to a *supai huahua*, a demoniacal child, which is of a grey colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk, and the legs deformed. Such a monster is generally buried alive.

A black nocturnal bird called *tutúlu* is also said to make women supernaturally pregnant, to enter the house where it assumes human shape and has intercourse with a woman.

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

*Titipúru supai* is a black nocturnal bird resembling a heron and living on the flat banks of the rivers. It is believed to bewitch people with the whistling sound which it produces, and to make them ill.

*Acángau supai*, the bird which is in Spanish called *cacavero*, is also occasionally said to send disease.

Even such insignificant birds as the humming-birds may act as the agents of evil-working sorcerers. There are two beautiful humming-birds that are especially mentioned as supai, namely, the *rayu kinde supai* and the *curi kinde supai*, which are believed to bewitch people with their long beaks and therefore likewise figure among the demons invoked by the medicine-men.

Poisonous insects are also regarded as demons. Among these the Canelos Indians pay particular attention to the black wasp, the scorpion or *uputindi supai*, and the black ant (*tucandera*), called *yutúri supai*. The poisonous stings of these insects resemble the invisible magic arrows of the sorcerers who also, as we shall see, avail themselves of such creatures when bewitching people."

1: Karsten--390-391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

"We have further to consider the plant demons which are much the same as those of the Jibaros. Of 'sacred' or demoniacal trees the palms are the most important. There are three kinds of demoniacal palms: the cucha chunta (Mauritia) which grows at the margin of lagoons or on marshy ground; the huiriria chunta (Bactris) another kind of wild chonta palm; and the tarpu chunta or cultivated chontaruru palm (Guilielma). To all these the appellation supai is given because of their [391] long thorns which play the main part in the magic art of the medicine-men and sorcerers at Canelos.

The animistic ideas in regard to the garden plants are much the same as among the Jibaros. The Canelos Indians, who are now Christians in name, however, do not believe in an Earth-mother, and although many curious practices are observed at sowing and planting, their agriculture is not nowadays connected with a cult of the plant spirits as among the Jibaros.

Poisonous plants are animated by supai and the efficacy of the arrow-poison, as we have seen, is due to the demons inhabiting the plant from which it is prepared.

The same holds good of the narcotic plants aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros), huántuc (= maikoa), and tobacco, which play the same important part in the divination of the Canelos Indians as in that of the Jibaros. The demon of the huántuc plant, huántuc supai, is said to appear to the Canelos medicine-men, narcotized by the drink,

1: Karsten--390-391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'."

1: Karsten--391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 823 ( 1928-29)

"Certain places and localities are inhabited by supai. The most important and most feared of these are the urcu supai, the demons of the hills, and especially the razu urcu supai, the demons of the snow-clad mountains. All these are inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers who have transmigrated into the hills and mountains. They are supposed to send evil disease and are therefore often summoned by the medicine-men when curing patients.

When passing hills on their wanderings the Canelos Indians take care not to make a noise but keep silence; otherwise the demon of the hill will get angry and send heavy rain. The thunder-like booming sometimes heard from within the mountains is called by the same name as one of their principal bird demons, the big macaw, guacamayu. When hunting on hills that they have not visited before, they abstain from shooting with their guns and only use their blowguns. Otherwise they will not be able to kill any game.

There are also spirits in the rivers, and the cataracts are particularly haunted by them. Some of these appear in the shape of animals, as the amárun supai, others, again, in other shapes. In the small waterfalls or cascades, (paccha) in which the eastern cordilleras are so rich, there are paccha supai or sacha supai, 'demons of the woods'. In such paccha the Indians take ceremonial baths."

1: Karsten--392 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"Of phenomena in the sky the rainbow (cuichi) seems to have particularly attracted the attention of the Canelos Indians. The rainbow, they fancy, is nothing but a huge anaconda (amárun) in the air, or as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the anaconda'. One superstition about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are in their menstrual period ought not go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone in a hut in the forest, they are exposed to danger from the cuichi supai who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being a supai huahua, a 'demoniacal' child. This superstition in regard to the rainbow also prevails among the Indians of the Napo and is particularly held by the Quichua-speaking mountain Indians."

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakáni or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

1: Karsten--394-395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian, however, makes a definite distinction between what he calls 'witchcraft' (tunchi) and 'disease' (súngura). Tunchi, properly speaking, signifies the 'arrow' or small material object which the sorcerers throw at their enemies. The illness caused by it is particularly an Indian evil; upon a white man it would not have any effect. The Jibaros even declare that white people do not at all comprehend the thing that the Indians call witchcraft. The symptoms of this mysterious evil are, however, quite characteristic. When the Indian's whole body aches or he feels intense pains in some particular part of it, and especially if the pains are accompanied by a swelling of the corresponding part of the body and the evil strikes him quite suddenly, he is convinced that he has been bewitched. Head-ache and rheumatic pains--what we call 'fairy dart' etc.--suppurating wounds, colic accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, painful diseases of the heart and the liver, are typical instances of evils caused by witchcraft. Feverish diseases are generally referred to the category súngura. However, the malarial fever, although it is not connected with pains, is frequently set down to witchcraft. When among the Jibaros of the Rio Upano, whose land is comparatively healthy, a case of malarial fever occurs, the Indians declare that this evil is sent to them by the sorcerers among their enemies, the Achuares on the Rio Pastaza, who live in a malaria-stricken country.

Although the tunchi, when let off against a person by a sorcerer, or extracted from

1: Karsten--394-395 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 753 (1928-29)

the body of a patient by a medicine-man, always appears in the shape of some material object, yet it is at the same time regarded as a living demoniacal being. If death follows in consequence of sorcery, this demon is conceived of as a real iguánchi, who at the same time is vaguely identified with the soul of the sorcerer from whom it proceeds. [395]The demon of the tunchi at once begins its work of destruction in the body, and if it is allowed to complete it, that is to say, if no other medicine-man is able to drive it out and to extract the tunchi, the patient is bound to die. After his death the demon remains in the body and tries to lay hold of his soul as well, the latter being then identified with the demon that caused death. This is the reason why the departed are so often feared as revengeful spirits, even when they were, perhaps, respected and loved in life: it is the spirit of disease and death that the Indians fear, the demon being supposed to look for fresh victims among the surviving relatives."

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (*súngura*) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (*súngura itáches*?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical: the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

1: Karsten--396 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"Although the category 'disease' nowadays chiefly comprises illnesses that have been introduced by the whites, there is also a kind of *súngura* which is endemic among the Indians and which they have thus known before the white man arrived. This kind of *súngura* arises directly from their own evil *iguánchi*. Such a case of 'disease' came under my notice among the Indians of Arapicos, where several young persons and children had been attacked by an insidious fever, apparently epidemical, which made them slowly pine away. The demons always outdo living men, even the most experienced sorcerers, as senders of supernatural evils. The medicine-men, therefore, generally profess their inability to cure the kind of *suńgura* which is sent by the *iguanchi*."

1: Karsten--396 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753 (1928-29)

"Although 'disease' (sungura) does not directly arise from the sorcerers, they are still supposed to have a certain influence even upon this evil. They are, for instance, believed to be able, by means of their magical arrows and imprecations, to cause an epidemic, raging in a village, not to cease or leave the place, but remain stationary there, gradually exterminating its inhabitants. Thus when the village of Puyo, situated at a small affluent of upper Pastaza, was visited by a ravaging epidemic of dysentry in 1918, the Indians declared that the disease had certainly been brought to their village by the whites, but that its unusually obstinate character was due to the magic art of the famous sorcerer Palati at Canelos, who wanted to annihilate his avowed enemies the Puyo Indians. There is thus practically no evil and no kind of illness for which the Indians are not able to blame, in one way or another, their enemies, the sorcerers of other families or tribes."

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"THE CANELOS INDIANS make exactly the same distinction between what they call chunta (magic arrow) or nanai ('pain', 'evil', caused by the chunta) and ungüi, 'disease', originally introduced by the whites. As to the latter the Canelos Indians, who have at times suffered terribly from small-pox and other epidemic diseases, have much more realistic ideas than the wild Jibaros. 'Disease', they say, enters their villages in the shape of a white man, 'carrying a bag on his shoulders'. He may be a real man or only a spirit; in any case he is believed to bring illness. 'Disease' knocks at the door of an Indian hut, and when some one goes to open it for him, the spirit will 'catch' him (ungüi hápin). One Indian having thus been caught, the relentless strange demon will look for more victims among the rest. Hence, when in one way or other the Indians have got the idea that 'Disease' is approaching their village--for instance when a party of white men are arriving--the [397] women start to cry loudly and lament just as they do when mourning for the dead. In this way, they believe, 'Disease' will be frightened away or anyhow induced to retrace his steps and leave the inhabitants in peace. This idea explains the strange welcome, consisting of ceremonial crying and lamentation, which white travellers sometimes receive when arriving at Indian villages. Again, when a contagious disease, for instance an epidemic of small-pox, breaks out in a place, the inhabitants generally see no other way of ridding themselves of the unwelcome guest than by leaving it and migrating to another part of the country. In such

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

cases they are in the habit of blocking up the path along which they go with sticks and branches of trees, 'in order that the disease spirit may not be able to follow in their footsteps.'"

1: Karsten--397
116, 753, 784

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Disease, and especially death, are to the Indians the great sources of taboo. The precautions which are considered necessary after a death will be related later on. Here it may be proper to add that disease or sickness of any kind is supposed to pollute a house to such extent that at any rate the Canelos Indians deem it necessary for the nearest relatives of the patient to fast. After the medicine-man has taken natéma to discover the origin of the sickness he generally gives the relatives certain instructions in this respect. The father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the patient are not allowed to eat salt or Indian pepper during the two first days after the member of the family fell ill. The patient himself is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc plantain and certain small fish called umbúni, tugshi, chuti, shigli, and challúa in the Quichua language. When the sick person is near death, the relatives too can only eat boiled and mashed plantain. When the patient is recovering, he is by and by allowed to eat small birds (shot with unpoisoned arrows) and thereafter certain other kinds of meat. The big sheat-fish (sungarápu) is strictly forbidden to a sick person because the whiskers of this fish are often used by sorcerers when bewitching people.

Only the nearest relatives of the patient are obliged to observe these rules, because of the mysterious connection which is supposed to unite all members of a family. If these eat some unsuitable food it will according to the belief of the Indians, necessarily react upon the patient whose condition will be made worse. Other more distant relatives

1: Karsten--397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

or strange people, who happen to stay in the same house, are not obliged to fast."

1: Karsten--397-398 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros,....at any rate those living on the Upano [398] and Santiago, do not consider it necessary to diet on account of a case of sickness, but only after a death. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, however, a person bitten by a venomous snake must avoid exciting spice like Indian pepper, and strong drinks. The latter, besides this, also in such cases abstain from eating salt and manioc, which according to their assertion would render the recovery more difficult for the patient."

1: Karsten--399 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"From what has been stated about the medicine-men in the previous pages, for instance in connection with the demons appearing in the shape of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, we may conclude that they form a class of extraordinary importance in the Jibaro community. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-man is the physician of the community, not a priest. His chief bussiness [sic] is to kill or harm other people--his own enemies or those of his tribe--with sorcery, and to cure evils sent by enemy sorcerers. He is not particularly a 'weather-doctor', i.e. a man that professes to influence the weather for good or evil. Although magical practices of this kind occur among the Jibaros, they can be performed by any member of the community and do not form part of the special functions of the medicine-men. Nor do they concern themselves with such ceremonies as are of a marked religious character, as for instance the rites and incantations performed in honour of Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma for agriculture. Divination consisting of drinking the narcotics natéma or maikoa is continually practised by the medicine-men, but chiefly in connection with their medical treatment."

1: Karsten--399 [2]　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro
116, 793　　(1928-29)

"....priests in the proper sense of the word do not exist, unless--as indeed I have done myself--we choose to give this name to the old man (uhuéa) who conducts the ceremonies at the most important religious feasts. In this sense there may even be said to exist priestesses among the Jibaros, since old women perform similar duties at certain feasts."

1: Karsten--399-400 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"I frequently use the expression 'medicine-man and sorcerer', indicating thereby that these conceptions are not exactly synonymous. A medicine-man is certainly always a sorcerer, but a sorcerer need not necessarily be a professional medicine-man. Thus old warriors and chiefs are generally more or less initiated in the magic art; in fact, they [400] fight their enemies not only with their natural weapons but also with their magical 'arrows' (tunchi). Yet they do not exercise the art of sorcery professionally and are seldom seen curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers. In this account I shall as a rule use the words 'sorcerer' or 'wizard' with reference to black or nefarious magic, whereas 'medicine-man' is a general appellation for a person practising the magic art. The Jibaros have only one word for denoting a medicine-man or sorcerer; wishinyu."

1; Karsten--400-403　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro-1
116, 791　　(1928-29)

"To become a medicine-man among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians is not quite an easy thing; both ascetic practices and real studies are required of the man aiming at this title and rank. Among the Jibaros a would-be medicine-man is initiated in the following way. He approaches some old medicine-man who will give him the tunchi as well as the instruction necessary for the exercise of his profession. The medicine-man squirts into his mouth, direct from his own, a small chonta thorn with a little saliva and some juice of tobacco, muttering an incantation. The novice has now received the 'poison' which will in due time enable him to act as a sorcerer. The mysterious bewitching matter will spread all over his body with the blood, permeating his whole being, and there will always be something of it in his mouth to be used whenever he likes. In order to become effective in the possession of the new medicine-man the poison must however properly 'ripen'. This among the Jibaros generally seems to take place in the course of six months, but may sometimes require a period of two years. The poison is ripe when the new medicine-man proves able to bewitch a person with his tunchi. The time of preparation is extremely critical for him. The 'poison' permeating his body, instead of ripening and becoming an effective weapon against his enemies, may under unfavourable circumstances cause his own destruction. This will happen unless, during the critical time, he fasts strictly and closely observes other rules of conduct imposed upon him. During the first five days after he has received the tunchi

1: Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 791 (1928-29)

from the old medicine-man he only eats boiled green plantain mashed in water, strictly abstaining from drinking even manioc-beer (nihamánchi), the daily drink of the Indians. Instead of that he takes juice of tobacco in great quantities both through the mouth and the nose. He also drinks the narcotic natéma every evening in order to see the demons who will help him to become a medicine-man. In narcotic dream he goes to the bank of the river and summons the anaconda demon, pangi and his 'brother', tsúngi; they rise from the river, [401]speak to him as friends, and give him the tunchi. As pointed out before, it is in these water monsters that witchcraft has its ultimate origin; they are also the first demons invoked by the medicine-men when illnesses, caused by witchcraft, have to be cured.

When the five days have elapsed, the novice cuts his hair short and takes a ceremonial bath in a waterfall in the forest. During the following months, or until the poison has properly 'ripened', he has to observe the following rules in regard to his mode of life: --His food chiefly consists of boiled green plantains, mashed in water. When eating he takes care not to touch the food with his fingers but eats with the aid of small wooden sticks or splinters. The future medicine-man drinks beer made of bananas and a root called sangu, but not the ordinary manioc-beer. He carefully abstains from eating the flesh of swine or hens, that is, the flesh of the most important domestic animals. Pork is particularly believed to have a harmful influence upon the medicine-man's health and

l: Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 791 (1928-29)

his power as a sorcerer. He shuns it to such extent that if it is boiled in the same house where he lives he avoids even inhaling the vapours rising from the boiling pot. He also abstains from eating the flesh of the wild boar because of its resemblance to the domestic swine. An animal always religiously shun by the medicine-men, even by those properly initiated, is the armadillo (*shushúi*). They not only abstain from eating its flesh but even avoid seeing it. If a medicine-man happens to encounter an armadillo, he at once closes his nostrils with his fingers or with a cloth in order not to inhale the musty smell which this animal emits, and he moreover takes tobacco water to paralyse the evil influences arising from it. The *tunchi* which he has inside and which is conceived of as a living demoniacal being may 'get frightened' and 'retire' with the result that the medicine-man himself may die. The same may happen if the novice eats swine's flesh or some other unsuitable food. As to fish, he can only eat sardines (*chumakai*) and other smaller fishes which are not caught with varvasco poison but with hooks. To come in contact with fish caught with varvasco would have the same evil consequences as eating the armadillo: the *tunchi* might 'retire' and cause the medicine-man's death. In regard to the larger of the fishes that he is allowed to eat he takes care not to eat the *head* of the fish lest it should do him harm. He moreover observes certain other curious dietary regulations. Thus he is recommended to eat the flesh of the paca (*Coelogenys paca,* called *káshai*), because the medicine-men frequently use the whiskers of this demoniacal animal [402] when bewitching people. Of monkeys he only eats two, namely, the common night-monkey, uhúkuma, 'because a medicine-man has to operate in darkness as does the night-monkey;' and the capuchin-monkey, tsiri, 'because it is very clever and quick in its movements', as a medicine-man also ought to be. Of fish, in addition to those mentioned before, he eats a kind of small sheat-fish, called nukumbi, because of its pointed dorsal spines which resemble the small spines which a sorcerer makes use of when bewitching people; as well as another kind of fish called yutui which is likewise provided with small sharp spines. He eats wasps because of their poisonous stings, and small chonta thorns which grow on the demoniacal chonta palm. Both the stings of the wasps and the chonta thorns are used as magical 'arrows' by the sorcerers. Again he eats a kind of sucking-fish, called nayúmbi, which are found on stony bottoms in the rivers where they fix themselves to the stones with their mouths: in this way, it is thought, the medicine-man has to act in 'sucking out' the evil from a patient's body. Of birds he is particularly recommended to eat the woodpecker, tatashama, which taps the stems of the trees and listens attentively for the worms within them: exactly in the same way the medicine-man has to proceed when trying to find out where about the evil is in the patient's body and to draw it out.

Beside these rules of diet, the future medicine-man has strictly to observe sexual abstinence. Not only is he himself forbidden to have intercourse with a woman; no married couple can live in the same house as he, and his food can only be prepared and given him by an unmarried woman or man. A would-be medicine-man cannot marry until his novitiate ends.

If the novice breaks the rules mentioned the consequences will be fatal for him. The bewitching poison which he has taken into his body will not grow ripe and make him a medicine-man, but on the contrary may cause his death.

During the whole time of preparation the novice also receives all sorts of instructions from his master, the old sorcerer who gave him the tunchi. These instructions concern details of the art of sorcery, how to acquire the power over spirits and demons necessary for bewitching people or for curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers, what kind of conjurations are to be sung on different occasions, what remedies are to be used, and so forth. Knowledge of these things belongs to the occult science of the medicine-men which makes of them a [403] professional class of 'knowing persons', but is withheld from common people. A medicine-man or sorcerer is called wishinyu, the stem-word of which is probably we (wi) 'I', 'I myself', corresponding to the fact that a medicine-man always begins his conjurations by repeatedly pronouncing the word we ('I, I myself conjure thee, demon').

The newly initiated medicine-man pays his master for his services with some object of value, a blowgun and arrow-poison, a good hunting dog, an itipi or loin-cloth, etc.

1: Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 791 ( 1928-29)

The mysterious magic arrow which the medicine-man aims at his victims is, as we have seen, called túnchi. Another name for the same thing, nearly as commonly used, is tsinsáka, which means 'arrow'--the thin stick of palm wood used for the blowguns. --There is in fact a close parallelism between the poisoned arrow of the Indian hunter which kills the game by inflicting an insignificant wound, and the invisible magic arrow of the sorcerer which suddenly hits the victim, causing mysterious pains and a speedy death. The prototype for both, as already pointed out, is probably the death-bringing sting of the venomous snakes. In fact, the wizard in his operation behaves like a venomous snake ready for action. He is supposed to carry the poison in his mouth like the snake; when he shoots his 'arrow' he whistles and hisses, just as does the angry snake before it directs its death-bringing fang at its victim.

The bewitching 'arrow' (tunchi or tsinsáka) of a medicine-man can, however, assume different forms: it may not only be like an ordinary small arrow of the kind used for the blowguns, but also, and more frequently, appears in the shape of a chonta thorn, a small stone or pebble, a hair or tooth of some demoniacal animal, the sting of a wasp, a worm, and so forth, which the medicine-man, in some way known to him alone, draws from his own body and throws at his victim."

1: Karsten--403-404 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 791 ( 1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS the initiation of the medicine-man is much the same as among the Jibaros, although the regulations regarding the mode of life that the novice has to observe are less detailed. The Canelos Indians being now Christians in name, the sorcerers have not amongst them the same social importance as among the wild Jibaros; in fact, they exercise their profession only in secret. A would-be medicine-man receives his 'arrow' in the same way as among the Jibaros, from the mouth of an old medicine-man. Since in most cases it consists of a small chonta thorn it is simply called chunta. To bewitch another person by means of a chonta thorn is called chuntáta shitána, 'to throw the chonta', [404] whereas a sorcerer is called chunta shitac runa, 'a chonta-throwing man'. Afterwards the poison which the novice has received must 'ripen' in order to become effetive, [sic] and this, among the Canelos Indians, is said to take two to four years. Meanwhile the novice has to fast strictly, his food consisting chiefly of boiled green plantain, mashed in water. He is forbidden to drink any kind of chicha or asua (beer made of manioc or other fruit). Of fish he only eats the small fish called chuti, but not the head, merely the hinder part of the fish. He takes tobacco water in great quantities through the mouth and the nose, and every evening drinks aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros). This restricted diet, and especially the drinking of the aya huasca and the tobacco water, will help him to come into intimate contact with

1: Karsten--403-404 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 791 (1928-29)

the demons--especially with the amárun supai, the anaconda--who will initiate him into the magic art. The novice pays his master for the chunta and the instructions received with a blowgun, a costly feather crown (tahuasámba), a dog, a shirt, or other objects of value."

1: Karsten--404-405 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 791 (1928-29)

"Although the medicine-men are not distinguished from other members of the community by a particular dress, yet they form an easily recognizeable class of people even in their outward appearance. A Jibaro or a Canelos medicine-man is reserved and taciturn, his eyes are dull and, as it were, veiled, a natural consequence, no doubt, of his permanent habit of drinking natéma (aya huasca) and other narcotics. His gloomy looks are rendered still gloomier by the black face-painting, his cheeks and the regions round his eyes being generally stained with sua (genipa). The small bag (wambachi), usually worn by the Jibaros, has a special importance attached to it as far as the medicine-men are concerned; it contains their namúra, i.e. certain small stones, teeth or hairs of certain demoniacal animals, or other magical objects. The Jibaros, as we have seen, ascribe supernatural properties to stones of peculiar colour and shape. Among the namúra there are black, red, and white stones, but the last mentioned, the kaya wincha, 'brilliant stones' or crystals, are the most important owing to the magical power they are believed to possess. Such small white stones are found with all medicine-men and they are regarded as absolutely indispensable. But if one asks one of them how he got these stones, or where such are to be found, one will get no satisfactory answer. The medicine-men always profess to have seen and taken hold of them in a dream, when intoxicated by the narcotic natéma; the demons themselves have discovered them. Unless he possesses them the 'doctor', when about to cure

1: Karsten--404-405 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 791 (1928-29)

a [405] patient, will not get intoxicated (nambikma) after drinking natéma, and consequently will not have 'good dreams' and see the origin of the evil, that is, the wicked sorcerer who sent the tunchi. How the medicine-men use their namúra when curing sick persons, we shall see later on."

1: Karsten--406-407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"As we have seen, the function of the medicine-man includes, on the one hand, the infliction of evils upon other people by witchcraft, on the other hand, the curing of people bewitched by other sorcerers.

First we shall examine how the medicine-man proceeds when bewitching his enemies.

To throw the magic arrow or bewitch another person is among the JIBAROS called waweátinyu (the inf. form; 3 pers. sing. waweáma).

When a wishinyu or medicine-man wants to bewitch another Indian he prepares himself for the operation by fasting for five days. During these days he contents himself with the same scanty food as was prescribed for him at the time of initiation, eating only some boiled green plantains, mashed in water. He abstains from drinking manioc-beer, but repeatedly takes tobacco water through the nose, the leaves of the plant being boiled in a small clay pot partly filled with water. Every evening he drinks the narcotic natéma in order to see the spirits and be instructed by them in regard to the kind of 'arrow' he ought to use and other particulars. The action always takes place in the dark, when the demons move about. When ready to shoot his tunchi, the sorcerer takes tobacco water, coughs and hawks up something which he seizes with his fingers, mutters a sort of conjuration, addressed to the arrow, whistles, and makes a peculiar movement with his finger. The name of the Indian to be bewitched must be mentioned in the conjuration. Supposing that his name is Andiche, the medicine-man addresses the tunchi in the

1: Karsten--406-407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

following words:

Amuesha, tsinsáka,
Andiche numba umárta,
namánkisha yuota
kuránta matinyu. [407]

that is:

'You arrow,
may you drink the blood of Andiche
and eat his flesh,
so that he may die quickly!'

The wizard subsequently shoots the arrow with a blowing movement. He may be quite near his victim, or he may hit him at a considerable distance. Thus a person may be bewitched while he sits quietly in his house in the evening, conversing with other people. The hostile sorcerer steals to the house, covered by the darkness, and shoots his invisible arrow through a crack in the wall. At the same moment the victim inside the house will feel an acute pain in the chest, give a start and say to his comrades: 'I feel ill, something has happened to me, I must have been bewitched'. The wizard, having accomplished his deed, sneaks away."

1: Karsten--407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, when a sorcerer wants to discharge his 'chonta' at an enemy, he fasts for two days previously, eating only green plantains and taking tobacco water in repeated doses. Every evening he drinks aya huasca in order to communicate with the demons. Sorcery is practised at night. The wizard secures a black wasp with a poisonous sting, fixes three small chonta thorns to its abdomen, and sends it off with the following formula: 'Chai runáta yaicugri; cutin tigramúngi; chapashámi chishi; allita mikushca shamúngi, nyúca nishcáta pactachispa. i. e. 'May you enter into that man (the name of the Indian is mentioned); may you return later on; I will wait for you at night; having nicely eaten his flesh may you return after executing my order'.

The invisible arrow of the sorcerer is supposed to enter into the victim through his throat or his chest, just as if he were hit by a real arrow. If a medicine-man is not able to extract the arrow, he will grow worse and worse and die within a few days. The demon, having left the 'arrow' in the patient's body, returns to his master."

"Frequently, however, the sorcerer hits his victim while the latter is far away in another village or part of the country. In such cases he does not generally shoot his arrow at him directly but through the mediation of some demoniacal animal, bird, reptile, or insect. The latter are, among the JIBAROS, called tunchima or 'bewitched'. A medicine-man may thus hide his tunchi or his own demoniacal soul in a jaguar, [408] a nocturnal bird, a venomous snake, or a poisonous insect like a wasp or a scorpion. These creatures he sends away, with the usual formula of conjuration, to distant places where they will encounter his intended victim. Birds are, by their flight, believed to be especially able to carry the tunchi far away, but the success with which a medicine-man is able to use such agents of the animal world naturally always depends on his own skill and experience. The very fact that for instance a jaguar or a venomous snake assumes an aggressive attitude towards man, killing or harming him, is regarded as a sufficient proof that the beast or reptile is tunchima, i.e. has been sent by an enemy wizard.

The following instance may illustrate the Indian idea of 'bewitched' or demoniacal animals. A wife of the Jibaro sorcerer Shakaëma on the Rio Upano one day went out to fetch manioc from the plantations. While she was engaged in the work she noticed a black vulture which came flying towards her from the north in such a way that it at once attracted her attention. The vulture alighted on the ground at a little distance from the

1: Karsten--407-408 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

woman, looking at her. At the same moment she felt an acute pain in the chest, as if she had been hit by an invisible arrow. She got frightened and was at once seized with the suspicion that she had been bewitched. She tried to chase away the fatal bird with her machete, but it only flew a short distance and alighted again, steadily looking at her. The pain in the chest increased. The woman hurriedly returned home and told her people what had happened to her. A medicine-man drank natéma in order to find out the nature and origin of the evil. He declared that the woman had been bewitched by the vulture, which was tunchima. The bird had been sent by a sorcerer among the Jibaros who live in the north on the Rio Copotaza, a hostile tribe against whom Shakaĕma had made war some time before. All attempts to cure the woman proved futile. Her condition grew worse and worse, and a few days later she died."

1: Karsten--408-409 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791, 763 (1928-29)

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

1: Karsten--408-409 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 754, 791, 763 (1928-29)

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

1: Karsten--409-410 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

'Quite commonly sorcery is performed through the eyes. The Jibaros believe in the 'evil eye' (*tuna hi*), an experienced sorcerer being credited with the power of sending the *tunchi* not only from his mouth, but also from his eyes. The eye to the Indians is the 'mirror [410] of the soul' in the most real sense of the word.(1) Since it is from the medicine-man's soul that his magic poison comes, we can understand how he is believed to be able to send his *tunchi* merely by a penetrating look. The effectiveness of the evil eye is increased by the red face-painting. The Jibaro Indian seldom enters a strange house without having the face painted red, the painting being both a protection for himself against the treacherous 'arrow' of his host and a means of eking out the effectiveness of his own occult powers. A red dye often used in similar cases is the one called *múspa*, composed of the red seeds of the *Bixa orellana* and the dried and pounded leaves of the plant *simaika*. The cheeks and especially the parts round the eyes are painted with this bright red dye before entering, with a view to increasing the magical power of the visitor's look. This kind of face-painting is said to act particularly as a love charm, the visiting Indian being thus able to attract and entice the women when they

---

"1. In the Jibaro language the word for 'eye' (*hi*) is the same as the word for 'fire'."

1: Karsten--409-410 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

step forth and offer manioc-beer to the guest. Generally, however, the evil look of the sorcerer entails illness and death for the person on whom it falls."

1: Karsten--410-411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"The 'evil eye' operates in different ways. ~~Thus~~ the Jibaro sorcerers commonly avail themselves of apparently insignificant wounds and send their arrow into the victim merely by looking at him. A small wound accidentally caused by a knife, for instance, may thus at first be looked upon as only a 'natural' wound. But should the wound not heal within a few days in a normal way, should it, on the contrary, get infected, begin to ache, and cause the swelling of the whole limb, the medicine-men will in most cases declare that these unexpected complications have been brought about by the evil eye of a sorcerer. The following case may illustrate the Indian ideas on this point. A son of the great Jibaro chief Nayapi at Puyo was once brought to me to be cured of a mysterious illness. He showed a small wound on the groin, the origin of which the Indians could not explain and which, in spite of a prolonged treatment by different medicine-men, would not heal. On the contrary, the patient grew worse; some internal disease, accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, set in, and after some days of suffering the young man died. A medicine-man, having drunk the narcotic natéma, gave the following declaration as to the nature of the illness:--the small wound in the groin would not by itself have caused death;[411]but some enemy sorcerer had looked upon it with an evil eye and sent his tunchi into it. The 'arrow' had taken the form of a small boa serpent which had penetrated from the groin into the venter where it had grown, causing the swelling of the stomach and ultimately the patient's death. In cases of snake-bite

1: Karsten--410-411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

the same explanation is not seldom adhered to. There are, as we have seen, 'natural' snakes and snakes that are tunchima, 'bewitched'. The bite of the former does no particular harm to the person bitten, whereas the bite of the latter often ends fatally. Now in many cases where a snake-bite has unfortunate results, leading to the death of the patient or to serious complications, the Indians reason in the following way: the bite itself would not have caused death; but some malicious person had happened to look at the wound with an evil eye and thus caused the catastrophe. Hence when, among the Jibaros, some one is bitten by a snake, precautions are taken that no suspected person should get an opportunity to see the patient. In fact he is immediately taken to the forest where the medicine-man stays with him alone whilst curing him."

l: Karsten--411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"A sorcerer may operate all by himself, or he may cooperate with an iguánchi. These demons not only send disease in the way described before, but also shoot with magic arrows like the human sorcerers, and they do it in a more skilled way than the latter. When a sorcerer cooperates with an iguánchi, therefore, there is no remedy for the victim. The demon will deliberately shoot arrow after arrow at him so quickly that no medicine-man is able to extract them, and the patient is certain to die."

1: Karsten--411-412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Of the different kinds of magical 'arrows' used by the sorcerers some are regarded as more effective than others. The most dangerous tunchi consist of crystals and bright stones known under the name of kaya wincha, and of which the sorcerers make frequent use when bewitching people. If the victim is hit on the head by such a stone he is supposed to be doomed to certain death; few medicine-men are able to cure such patients. In accordance with this idea such bright stones are almost universally found among the namúra or magical objects of the medicine-men.

When used against a white man the tunchi as a rule is supposed to have no effect whatever. White people are immune against the sorcery of the Indians. There is, the Jibaros say, only one way of charming an apáchi or white man, namely, by shooting at him with an 'arrow' made of a hen's bone (atáshi kúnchi). This idea is, no doubt, connected [412] with the fact that the hens were originally introduced among the Indians by the whites."

1; Karsten--412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Women and children are most liable to sorcery, and a wizard, when desiring to harm an enemy family or tribe, therefore prefers to attack these weaker members of the community. Small children are, on account of their delicacy, especially exposed both to the evil witchcraft of Indian sorcerers and to 'disease'. The Jibaros consequently very unwillingly show their babes to strangers and never take them to the houses of Indians whom they do not know well or with whom they do not stand on a perfectly friendly footing. It may happen that in the strange house some malicious Indian sorcerer looks upon the child with evil eye in consequence of which it will fall ill and die. A man always has more power of resistance than a woman or child, and the older he grows the more 'hardened' he becomes against evil spirits and witchcraft. Old sorcerers and chiefs--even though they be physically decrepit--are among the Jibaros, as among other Indians, most feared on account of their supposed skill in managing their formidable supernatural weapon, the tunchi."

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Now let us see how the medicine-man proceeds when he has to cure a patient suffering from an evil sent by other sorcerers.

In order to be able to operate with success the medicine-man has to prepare himself in a certain way, the preparation as usual chiefly consisting in fasting. The treatment of the sick person takes place in the evening, after sunset. Only in the morning of the same day can the medicine-man take some food and drink manioc-beer. After noon he eats nothing, but instead of food takes tobacco water in great quantities through the nose. Pork is supposed to be particularly harmful to him, and he carefully avoids not only eating but even smelling it. If he eats pork before the operation he will awake sick the following morning. In the evening the medicine-man has to drink natéma which has meanwhile been prepared in the patient's house. A pot containing pieces of the crushed stem of the liana Banisteria caapi as well as of another liana called iáhi has been boiling the whole day on a slow fire, so that the main part of the water has gradually evaporated, only a small but exceedingly concentrated quantity being left. This is the natéma medicine.

As soon as darkness sets in, the medicine-man goes to the house of the patient taking with him the magical bag containing his namúra as well as a bundle of certain magical leaves called shingi-shingu, which he makes use of when treating the patient. His face is generally painted black with genipa. Tobacco water has previously been prepared in a pot by boiling the leaves, and a large *pininga* (clay dish) is now filled with this decoction. As soon as everything is ready all lights and fires in the house are put out, for the medicine-man must operate in complete darkness. He begins his treatment by taking the *pininga* with the tobacco water and chanting over it a long conjuration. The spirit of tobacco (*tsangu maso mari*) is summoned to take possession [414] of the medicine-man and to help him to find out the origin and nature of the evil troubling the patient. The invocation being finished he drinks some tobacco water, without emptying the dish. Thereupon he fills a small cup with *natéma* and empties its contents at a draught. Then the doctor leans over the patient who has been stretched out upon a bench in the middle of the house, and starts to sing his conjurations. After a while, during his chants and other actions with the patient, he takes a second dose of *natéma*, sometimes with some more tobacco water. This is repeated a third, sometimes a fourth time, according as it is found necessary. The principal thing is that the medicine-man gets intoxicated (*nambikma*), for otherwise he cannot conjure forth the demons and his whole treatment is of no avail. This state of mind, however, must not be provoked suddenly and all at once, but gradually, in order to avoid too violent outbursts of spiritual ecstasy; that is the reason why the medicines are only taken in small doses.

In his conjuration the medicine-man invokes all those demons who are suspected of having sent the evil. Since the sorcerers, when bewitching people, preferably avail themselves of certain demoniacal agents of the animal world, in which they hide their disease and death-bringing tunchi, we understand why most of the demons invoked are animals, birds, reptiles and even insects. It is a leading principle in the Indian conjurations that the remedy must be sought where the evil has its origin, in other words, that the same spirits that have caused the illness must also be compelled to cure it.

To conjure illnesses caused by sorcery is called tsinságrinyu kantámsama, or kantamára umbuártinyu, 'to cure sickness by singing'. The stem-word for tsinságrinyu is tsinsáka, 'arrow'. Kantámsama (kantamára), again, means 'to conjure by singing'.

The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.

I: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

I am blowing, I am blowing!
avanketmá, avanketmá,
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámsatmá, ayámsatmá
in order that you may get relief!". --
and so forth.
[416]

. . . .

The medicine-man always begins his conjurations, of whatever kind they may be, by repeating the word, we, we, "I, I myself", thus emphasising his own personality and the will power by which he masters the spirit world. Amárun is the Quichua word for the great water boa (Eunectes murinus), called pangi in the Jibaro language. In their conjurations and incantations the Jibaros sometimes make use of Quichua words which are, as it were, international among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The water boa, as we have seen before, is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, and is therefore naturally invoked first. It is the same with his 'brother' tsungi, another water monster of obscure origin but equally important as an author of witchcraft. Other demons of the animal world that frequently send the fatal 'arrow' are the tiger (yawára), the river dolphin (apupa), which is supposed to bewitch people when it emerges to the surface of

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

the water to breathe, and the ray (kaspa) which emits an 'arrow' with its poisonous death-bringing sting. That the spirit of tobacco (tsangu) is invoked is easy to understand since it is to a great extent by its aid that the medicine-man succeeds in overcoming the evil troubling the patient.--Again, avanketná is the same as avankatukáhei, 'to disengage a fish from the hook', with which it has been caught. In the same way the conjurer will disengage the patient from the arrow which has been fixed into his body. Ayamsatná is the same as ayámsatahei, 'to rest', 'to get relief'.

The spirits just mentioned of course are not the only ones invoked by the Jibaro medicine-men. A number of other demons also figure in their conjurations, most of these being animals, birds, or insects, some even local nature spirits. As to carnivorous beasts, not only the common ounce (Felix onca) but all animals of the feline family--for instance the great black jaguar (soacha), the puma (Felix concolor), and different kinds of tiger cats--may serve as agents of sorcerers and are therefore invoked by the medicine-men. The tsingu-tsangu yawá, is probably only a mythical beast: 'a tiger-like animal which lives in the trees'. Of water monsters, in addition to those already mentioned, the caiman (kanyátsa) and the great water otter (wangánimi) are of special importance. Birds, as we know, frequently carry the 'arrow' and are therefore [417] invoked. Among these the tucan (tsukánga or kuánga), the yellow and the red macaw (yambúna, takúmbi) the mango (chui), and the cock-of-the-rock (sumga) are the most important. It is a curious fact that most of the animal and bird demons which are thus believed to send disease and invoked by the medicine-men also figure among the arútama, who were originally ancestral spirits. --Insects possessing natural 'arrows' --stings etc, --may also be invoked by the medicine-men. Among these there is a big hairy larva called wambángu which, when caught with the fingers, is able to inflict a stinging pain and is therefore sometimes used by the sorcerers for bewitching purposes. --Again, of nature spirits the demons of the hills are especially invoked (neindya, neindya, winiti)'demons of the hills, may you come (to draw out the arrows you have sent'!) The high hills and cordilleras, as we know, are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers.

Apart from the conjuration itself, there are certain interesting operations with the patient to which we must direct attention. I have already mentioned the bundle of leaves called shingishingu, which forms part of the magical equipment of the medicine-man, and which is used as a sort of rattle. The leaves, those of a special plant credited with mysterious properties, terminate in a long point. These points form the most essential part of the whole thing, as far as in them the soul of the plant (wakáni) and its magic power is concentrated. The points are called inéi, i. e. 'tongues', and they are supposed to be identical with the tongue of the sorcerer, who is said to give it this peculiar

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

pointed form--more or less like a snake's tongue--at the moment when he shoots off his 'arrow' (tunchi) against an enemy. The points of the leaves, therefore, are at the same time identical with the tunchi itself, the mysterious object which it is the medicine-man's task to extract from the [418] body of the patient. These ideas fully explain the importance attached to the shingi-shingu rattle. During his operations the medicine-man from time to time rises and shakes the rattle over the patient and particularly over that part of his body where the evil is, just as if he were fanning him with a fan. This procedure is repeated several times, alternately with other operations. Sometimes the medicine-man interrupts his conjurations to start another treatment. From his magical bag he takes out one of the white stones (kaya wincha), and after having filled his mouth full of tobacco water he puts the stone into his mouth and then rubs the bad spot with it. By this treatment he is supposed to prepare that spot favourably for extracting the tunchi. Then he leans down over it, blows and spits upon it and ultimately, having again filled his mouth with tobacco water, starts to suck it vigorously. After some moments he pretends to extract something from the body and holds up a small object which in the darkness cannot be clearly perceived. 'I have found the arrow', he says to the bystanders, 'it is a chonta thorn', (or a pebble, a worm, the hair of a paca, etc.). 'But this', he generally adds, 'is not the only arrow that there is in his body. There are several of them, but I will gradually draw them all out'.

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

In this way the medicine-man continues his operations for a long while, often for several hours, alternately chanting his conjurations and invoking the demons, shaking the shingi-shingu rattle, spitting and blowing, rubbing the bad spot with his namúra, etc. He frequently takes tobacco water and also repeatedly drinks a small quantity of natema, thus gradually working himself into a state of ecstasy, so that ultimately he starts to dance round the patient, stamping on the ground and chanting in a loud voice. This is the highest degree of possession, the state in which the medicine-man 'sees' the illness and discovers its causes. About midnight he interrupts his operations for that night, but since there is generally more than one arrow in the patient's body to be extracted, the treatment is in most cases continued for several successive nights.

In the narcotic sleep produced by the natéma and the tobacco water the medicine-man will afterwards find out the ultimate origin of the sickness, the evil sorcerer who has sent the tunchi. The author of the trouble having thus been discovered, the medicine-man may try to send the tunchi back to him, and the relatives of the patient may decide to wreak vengeance upon him. Generally, however, vengeance is not [419] decided upon until one or several deaths through sorcery have taken place within a family."

1: Karsten--419　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro
116, 755, 791　　(1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a medicine-man who cures people bewitched by chunta -throwing sorcerers is called hámbic runa or only hámbic, 'a man curing by medicines', the word hámbic being derived from hambi, 'medicine'. When preparing for his operations, which take place at night, the medicine-man has to fast the same day, taking only tobacco water through the mouth and the nose, just as is customary among the Jibaros. In the evening he takes aya huasca in repeated doses before and during his operations. The latter are of much the same kind as among the Jibaros. However, the demons invoked in the conjurations of the Canelos medicine-men are to some extent different from those of the Jibaros, corresponding to the particular ideas held by the former Indians as to the spirits that send sickness. These spirits have been mentioned before in connection with the religious beliefs of the Canelos Indians. Only the great water serpent, amárun supai, and the tiger, puma supai, hold equal positions in the superstition of both peoples, each of them being also regarded by the Canelos Indians as an incarnation of the soul of a wizard and consequently as an author of witchcraft. The medicine-man moreover, like the wishinyu of the Jibaros, makes use of white stones and other magical objects for curing the patient, as well as of the rattle of leaves, which at Canelos is called ilupánga."

1: Karsten--419-421 (1916-18) 1935 Jívaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Besides the ordinary cases of witchcraft, which can only be cured by a medicine-man, there is one more evil the treatment of which is of particular interest, namely, snake-bite. As mentioned before, venomous snakes which attack and harm people are generally looked upon as tunchima, that is, as temporary reincarnations of the souls of evil sorcerers. With the snake's poison the 'arrow' penetrates the body of the Indian bitten by it. Where such an idea prevails, it is clear that only a man initiated in the magic art can properly treat the person bitten. However, among the Jibaros the person most competent to cure a snake's bite is not the ordinary medicine-man, but a man who has himself once been bitten by a venomous snake and survived. Such an Indian is considered to be 'hardened' against snakes and therefore to possess special qualifications for curing other men attacked by the demoniacal reptiles.

As soon as an Indian has been bitten by a snake, therefore, a man [420] is summoned, if possible, who has himself once been cured of the consequences of a snake-bite. Special precautions are taken on such occasions. No strange person, not even any of the nearest relatives of the patient, is allowed to see the little wound. A secret foe may look upon it with an evil eye and send his 'arrow' into it, with the consequence that all sorts of dangerous complications ensue. The Jibaros generally have recourse to this explanation when a snake-bite which, perhaps, in the beginning seemed slight suddenly gives rise to a serious illness and causes the patient's death. Hence no one

1: Karsten--419-421 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

but the curer is allowed to treat the sufferer, and the cure takes place, not in the house, but outside in the forest, whither the 'doctor' cautiously leads the person bitten by the snake. In the forest he has been attacked by the evil demon, in the forest, therefore, the same demon must be conjured and the effects of his attack neutralized. A small provisional shelter is made, and the curer stays there alone with the patient during the whole time that he is treating him. The treatment consists in conjurations and operations of much the same kind as those practised by the ordinary medicine-men. The medicine mostly employed is juice of tobacco. The doctor repeatedly takes the medicine into his mouth and thereupon vigorously sucks the wound caused by the snake. He sings certain incantations, summoning the demon operating in the venomous snake.

Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called *piri-piri.* Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called *napi piripiri* (snake's *piripiri*). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (*Capsicum*). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through

1: Karsten--419-421 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 755, 825 ( 1928-29)

the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself.

Although all these medicines may in themselves have beneficial [421] effects, they are used by the Indians chiefly because of the magical or supernatural properties they are supposed to possess. The Indians believe that by using them they are able to drive out the evil demon from the patient's body.

The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

1: Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a person is cured of the consequences of a snake-bite much in the same way. The medicine-man takes tobacco juice into his mouth and sucks the wound with it, singing conjurations. From time to time he interrupts these operations to fan the patient with the branch of a tree called *chini papaya* or *ahuirintsúma*. This tree is much like the ordinary *Carica papaya*, but its branches are provided with large soft spines to which the Indians ascribe magical properties. When the patient is fanned or lightly beaten with this magic branch, the treatment is supposed to disperse the evil and to expel it from his body.

On the fifth day, independent of whether the patient has recovered or is about to die, the following ceremony takes place. Five round or somewhat oblate stones are looked for on the bank of the river, and arranged in a row from the house outwards, with a distance of about one foot between each stone. Now the medicine-man, either alone or with the assistance of another man, makes the patient slowly walk along these stones, passing from the house outwards and back. By this procedure, it is believed, he will be relieved of the consequences of the snake-bite. The cure is due to the magic virtues ascribed to the stones.

When a Canelos Indian has been bitten by a snake and the reptile escaped before the Indians were able to kill it, the following ceremony is performed. They take a stick of *palo de balsa* (*Ochroma piscatoria*) and paint it with red rings and spots all round so as

1: Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 755, 825 ( 1928-29)

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

1: Karsten--422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 154, 555 (1928-29)

"That the Indian medicine-men are not conscious impostors but exert their powers in good faith, appears from a close study of their psychology and of their way of operating. They simply share the superstitions prevailing among their people at large, even though they may be said to embody them in a special way. The medicine-men themselves are to a great extent the victims of self-deception and self-suggestion. Among the savage Jibaros, as we have seen, there is considerable danger coupled with this profession. Just as a sorcerer who is suspected of having killed another Indian by witchcraft himself runs the risk of being killed by the enraged relatives of the victim, so a medicine-man, who fails to cure the patient confided to him, is likely to be punished for his lack of skill. If the patient dies instead of recovering, the relatives argue that the doctor has used his skill to his destruction and not to his health, and may accordingly wreak vengeance upon him. That in spite of this danger there are people who voluntarily devote themselves to the medical art and sorcery is due to the power and influence always connected with this profession."

l: Karsten--423 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 789 (1928-29)

"The religious practices of the Jibaros are so manifold and in part of so peculiar a character that it is almost impossible to bring them under any commonly recognized categories. Thus there is no rite which can be termed 'sacrifice', except the food offered to the dead, and the 'prayers' addressed to the Earth-mother Nugüi are also peculiar, having poetical form and being always sung. All other practices are in their character magical and of these, too, different categories can be distinguished. The worshipper's aim may be, for instance, to ward off the spirits, or to obtain their favour and enter into alliance with them. There are also magical practices which have no reference to personal spirits at all."

1: Karsten--423-424 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 534, 177, 789 (1928-29)

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tundui. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

1: Karsten--423-424 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 534, 177, 789 (1928-29)

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

1: Karsten--424-425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 778 (1928-29)

"The Indians, in general, have comparatively few objects which are directly connected with their religious beliefs. Effigies or images of the spirits or demons are not made, the latter only being represented in ornamental paintings, and masks are unknown. The Jibaros have one material object of paramount religious significance, the head-trophy or tsantsa, which, as we have seen, is, by the ceremonies of the great victory-feast, changed into a real fetish...... [425]

There are various other fetishes or amulets of minor importance, most of which consist of small stones of peculiar form or colour. A great magical power is ascribed to the crystals or brilliant stones called kaya wincha and namúra used by the sorcerers. These too have been mentioned before (p. 404). I only add that the kaya wincha are also used as prophylactics, especially against chills. The wonder-working stone is put into a small gourd containing juice of tobacco, a conjuration is muttered over it and the medicine is drunk. It is supposed to have the power of making the patient warm inside and of protecting him against chills. Again, the sacred stone of the Earth-mother Nungüi plays an important part in agriculture. It is a small round stone of red or brown colour and has nothing particular in its outward appearance. The Jibaro women who use it at planting the manioc, however, ascribe to it a supernatural origin. It is received during the natéma intoxication, in the way I shall describe in the chapter on divination."

1: Karsten--425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 562, 787 (1928-29)

"Under this general heading it seems to me convenient to treat of certain customs of the Indians which are clearly of a religious or magical nature and are regularly practised when the Indians have to enter into relations with the spiritual world. Everybody is not prepared to take part in religious ceremonies; children for example are excluded until they have passed through the initiations. Fullgrown women, on the other hand, as we have seen, take part in many of them, and there are even religious rites which can only be peformed by the women, because only they possess the 'inner' qualifications necessary for success. But when ordinary conjurations of evil spirits are in question, the men, and particularly old men, are both physically and mentally far in advance of the women."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

---

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

1: Karsten--426-427 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 751, 301 (1928-29)

"Exactly the same may be said of many other ornaments of the Indians, for instance of the big ear-tubes, *arúsa*, the armlets of iguana skin, *súnday*, and of other adornments worn on the breast, round the neck, the arms, or the legs. Thus a Jibaro warrior is of opinion that the ear-tubes make him strong and valiant and therefore wears them as big as possible. For their great feasts the Indians especially adorn them-[427]selves in different ways since at the dances and other ceremonies thereby performed they enter into relation with the spirits. Thus both the feather ornaments, *tawasa*, the magnificent ornament for the back called *tayukúnchi*, and the large collars of fragrant seeds called *payáshnya*, used both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of magical charms and are believed to give their wearers power of resistance against the spirits. To illustrate this fact I may mention that at one of the most important ceremonies of the victory feast, the 'washing of the *tsantsa*', the priestess, when she has to officiate, wears both a feather crown on her head and the necklace called *múpish*, which are put on her by the priest before the ceremony begins. Normally the women never wear feather crowns, nor the necklace *múpish*. The small bunches of dry fruit shells, animals' teeth and claws, fragrant seeds and herbs which are worn at the breast by the Jibaro women and called *mamúta*, have exclusively a medical and magical significance; they are believed to protect the wearer against catarrhs and other illnesses. Such charms are also frequently hung round the neck or

1: Karsten--426-427 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 751, 301 (1928-29)

at the breast of small children for the same purpose. Collars of jaguar's teeth, worn especially by warriors and medicine-men, are--like the ear-tubes, the pigtails, etc. --supposed to impart strength and courage to the wearer."

1: Karsten--427-429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 751, 302 (1928-29)

"Besides the dress and all those fixed or detachable ornaments to which the Indians pay so much attention, there is another ornamental arrangement which likewise is chiefly of a magical or religious character, namely the facial and body-painting. It is only in exceptional cases that body-painting has--from our point of view--a practical aim. Thus my Indian baggage bearers frequently used, before starting for a journey, to paint the nether part of their back with genipa so as to give the skin more resistance. The juice obtained from the genipa tree (Genipa americana) is very astringent and causes the skin to contract as if it were curried. For the same reason the Indians also are in the habit of painting their face with genipa before canoeing, since it affords some protection against the rays of the sun. But in all other cases both the black painting with genipa and the red painting with roucou has a purely magical significance.

There are four kinds of red painting, but the chief ingredient is always the roucou (Bixa orellana). Very frequently the Indian paints himself only with pure roucou (ipyáku), i. e., with the seeds directly taken from the shrub and mashed. Another kind of red paint is the muspa mentioned before (p. 214) in connection with the magical plant simaika which forms [428] its chief ingredient. A third red paint is called karawira and prepared in the following way. The leaves of a certain plant called tai are dried, pulverized, and mixed with the seeds of the roucou. The mass is passed through a sieve consisting of a piece of linen, the juice or essence of it is collected in a small

1: Karsten--427-429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 751, 302 (1928-29)

clay pot, and the pot placed on a fire where the liquid is allowed slowly to dry up. The powder left in the pot is further dried in the sun and then put into a small gourd, which the Indians generally keep in the bag called *uyúna*. --The fourth and last red paint is the one called *áratinyu* and consists of mashed roucou seeds mixed with the oil obtained from the oil-bird *tayu* (*Steatornis*).

The Indians seem to use these four kinds of red paint indiscriminately, although in certain cases pure roucou (*ipyáku*) is preferred.

The fundamental idea underlying the custom of painting the face and the body is the same as that of the majority of other ornaments, namely, that it gives the body strength and affords an efficacious protection against disease and witchcraft and evil influences in general. Thus among the Canelos Indians facial painting, whilst having nearly always a magical or mysterious significance, is applied for various particular purposes. It is believed to protect the Indian against disease, for instance against the 'evil wind', *huaira ungüi*, that is, the illnesses which according to the idea of the Indians is carried about by certain winds. It is regarded as a powerful charm against witchcraft in general and especially against the evil eye, just as on the other hand it may act as a love charm which makes the Indian capable of seducing women. Further, as we have seen, the Canelos Indians regard the red painting as a hunting charm; it attracts the game and gives good luck in hunting. Hence, before the men start for a hunting

1: Karsten--427-429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 751, 302 (1928-29)

expedition, their wives always paint them red in the face with roucou; otherwise, it is believed, they would not be able to kill any game. Even the hunting dogs are profusely coated on the back with crude roucou before starting. The savage Jibaros, although they do not regard facial painting particularly as a hunting charm, still in the main have the same ideas about its wonderful power of strengthening the body. When the Indian is in a state of taboo and is consequently forbidden to wear the ordinary dress and ornaments, to tie up his hair, etc., he is also forbidden to paint his face, and looks pale and sick. For religious dances and feasts, on the other hand, the Indians never omit to paint their face with care, enhancing thereby the natural magical power of their body. The medicine-men and sorcerers especially, when exercising their art, are always, for the same reason, painted black or [429] red in the face. Sometimes the cheeks and other parts of the face are simply coated red or blackened, but more frequently special ornaments are applied. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on Indian art.

I may add in this connection that the Jibaros are also in the habit of blackening their teeth by using the leaves of two plants. The one is calle piu and grows wild, the other, which is a cultivated vine, is called nashúmbi. I have not received positive information as to the ideas underlying this custom.

We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a

1: Karsten--427-429　　　(1916-18) 1935　　　Jivaro-4
116, 751, 302　　　(1928-29)

magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguanchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

1: Karsten--429-430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"*Rites for magically influencing nature.*

Under this category fall a great number of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the great feasts and the aim of which seems to be to exert a mysterious influence upon nature itself, apparently without the intervention of any personal spiritual agents. The five great feasts of the Jibaros, as has appeared from my previous statements, are the 'feast of the children' (*Uchiáuka*), the 'feast of the young men (*Kusúpani*), the 'feast of the women' (*Noa tsangu*), the 'victory-feast' (*Einsupani*), and the 'feast of the dogs' (*Yawápani*). The particular idea which I wish to point out here appears very clearly in all these feasts except the 'feast of the children', the principal object of which seems to be to impart strength to the young child. On the other hand, in the *Kusupani* feast the object of the tobacco smoking ceremonies is not only to give the young man power of resisting evil spirits; besides this, there is the idea that the power of the tobacco--more strictly speaking, the power of the tobacco spirit--will be directly transferred to those departments of nature within which a full-grown man is active. This idea appears still more clearly with reference to the 'tobacco feast' and the great victory-feast: fertility of the fields and a rich harvest, the increase of the domestic animals, abundance of game, success in warfare, hunting, fishing and all domestic work will be the immediate consequence of these feasts if the rites prescribed by custom are performed in the right way. Similarly in the *Yawápani* feast the power inherent

1: Karsten--429-430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

in the [430] kungúna plant and other 'medicines' will, both through the dog and through his master, be automatically reflected upon the corresponding department of nature, giving as a result an abundance of game and luck in hunting.

It is difficult exactly to make out the primitive Indian view upon which all these rites are based. The only thing that can be said is that they assume an essential similarity or a mysterious connection between man and inanimate nature, which in its turn is based on the belief that in both, at bottom, the same spiritual life is active and therefore can be transferred from the human world to natural objects."

1: Karsten--430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 796 ( 1928-29)

"From my previous statements it has appeared the Jibaros have a good many religious practices which have for their object to ward off the evil spirits, the iguánchi and wakani, to frighten them away and intimidate them. Thus they try to expel the demons which cause thunder and lightning, and who are regarded as the spirits of their dead enemies, by brandishing their lances aganst [sic] the sky and challenging them.(1) The great victory-feast is full of such rites. The spirit of the slain enemy who is trying to harm the victor in every way is kept at bay by the beating of shields (the ceremony Yáktinyu), by firing into the air, by shouting and yelling, by beating drums and playing on flutes and, last but not least, by dancing. The dance Hantsemáta especially is interesting on this point since it is a typical conjuration, its great aim being to mortify the soul of the killed enemy and to control it. But the other Jibaro dances too are all of a ceremonial character, although there are different ideas underlying them."

---

"1. See supra, p. 381."

1: Karsten--430-431 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"There is no clear line of demarcation between good and evil spirits. Most of the iguanchi are certainly conceived of as evil or malignant, but a man who knows how to deal with them and to influence them in the right way--in the first place, of course, the medicine-man--may not only be able to resist and vanquish them, but even to make them his 'friends' and allies. We frequently meet this idea in the practical religion [431] of the Jibaros. Thus one of the most startling ideas underlying the great victory-feast was that the soul (wakáni) of the slain enemy, embodied in the tsantsa, in spite of his malignity and hatred of the victor, is through the ceremonies of the feast changed into a sort of guardian spirit who is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at the victor's disposal, gives him instructions and advice as to the domestic work, agriculture, etc. (p. 315). However, the medicine-men and sorcerers especially illustrate the way in which man may make the demons his allies and cooperate with them. Not only is the tunchi or tsinsáka the embodiment of a demoniacal being who executes the orders of the wizard when he wants to harm his enemies; besides this he may directly cooperate with the demons called iguánchi to be surer of success (p. 411). In the next chapter I shall again find an opportunity to refer to these practices. They imply that the medicine-man tries to summon and favourably influence the spirits by imitating them in their outward appearance and by playing the sort of string instrument which is called turúmba in Quichua and tsayandúru in the Jibaro language. The latter

1: Karsten--430-431 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 789 (1928-29)

is a simple bow of a special kind of wood with a cord of twisted chambira fibres. The Indian, when playing, touches the string with his mouth at one end of the bow, holding it in a horizontal position, and when twanging the string, is able to produce different tunes with it by certain movements of his lips. The tunes are very soft and perceptible only at a short distance, but are nevertheless believed to exert a mysterious influence upon the spirits whom the sorcerer addresses in playing the instrument.

In the same way as the Indians believe that they can summon the spirits and make them their friends by playing the 'musical bow', they believe that mysterious influence can be exerted upon them by beating the big drum tundúi. The condition in both cases, however, is that the Indian must be intoxicated by natéma or some other narcotic, for otherwise the demons will hardly appear. In dealing with the big 'signal' drum (p. 110 sq.) I have indicated the different ways in which the drum must be beaten on different occasions for the purpose of summoning the spirits. These occasions are the chonta feast and the natéma feast. The former will soon be described with some more details. The natéma feast again cannot be properly understood unless we know the many interesting ideas which are associated with the drinking of narcotic drinks in general."

1: Karsten--632-636 (1916-18) 1935 *Jivaro-1*
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"In previous chapters certain sacred narcotic drinks of the *Jibaros* have frequently been mentioned. Thus we have seen what an important part tobacco water plays for instance at the 'feast of the women', when it is supposed to communicate to the married women a wonderful power and ability for their various domestic occupations. The two narcotics known under the names of natéma and maikoa have also frequently been mentioned in connection with Indian divination. I have now to describe these sacred drinks more fully and to explain the religious ideas underlying their use.

The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the *Jibaros* and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine,--containing an alcaloid, like the maicoa--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi (1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco.

---

"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow)."

being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine of the souls') (3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination.

How the natéma drink is ceremonially prepared at the great feasts of the Jibaros has

---

2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423.

3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

been described before. Since the drink is exclusively used for religious or magical purposes its preparation is, of course, always more or less ceremonial. Still there are some differences in the details, depending on the different occasions for which the narcotic is used. The natéma, it should be noticed, occurs in two main forms, according as it is used by ordinary people for certain feasts, or by medicine-men and sorcerers when exercising their art.

The Jibaros, like the Canelos Indians, always prepare the natéma drink by boiling the vine. Some pieces of the lower thicker part of it are cut off, carefully washed, and crushed with clubs, so that they can easily be parted into thinner fibres. These are boiled in a pot with water, in ordinary cases only for one or two hours. Then the fibres are taken out and the drink is ready. It is of a brownish-green colour and has a very bitter taste. Usually some tobacco water is added and, in some cases, pieces of the rind of certain magical trees are put into the boiling pot in order to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

At the great feasts the natéma is taken in repeated doses and in comparatively large quantities. The effects appear comparatively slowly and are not very violent. The first effect of the drink is that of an emetic: a few minutes after a person has emptied the pininga offered by the leader of the ceremonies, he or she goes out and throws up the quantity consumed. In general, emetics play an important part in the medical practices of the Jibaros and are supposed to have very beneficial effects. After a while, and having taken the medicine in repeated doses, the patient begins to tremble and feels giddy; the pulse gets slow and weeh,[sic] the pupils of the eyes dilate. Lastly he falls asleep. Both before and during the sleep the Indian has strange perceptions and real hallucinations: he sees wonderful landscapes, different kinds of animals as well as people, all of which are guises in which the spirits, with whom he wants to enter into communication, appear to him.

With reference to the different occasions on which the Jibaros drink natéma, I have already mentioned the ceremonial natéma-drinking [434] at the 'feast of the dogs' and the great victory feast. At these feasts, however, comparatively little natéma is drunk. The Jibaros have also special natéma-feasts which last for several days--among the tribes of the Pastaza up to eight days. All inhabitants of the house, even small children, take part in them. The boiling begins early in the morning and lasts till about noon. As usual, pieces of the rind of the tree chingiáta and samiki are added to the natéma-fibres. The drink is at first boiled in several smaller pots on different fires in the house. Later, when the liquid has boiled down, the different quantities are poured into one big earthen pot. Like the consuming of the sacred drink, its actual preparation is ceremonial. While the boiling goes on, and later during the drinking,

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

the great signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, is beaten in the slow regular time which is customary at the natéma-feasts. The Jibaros assert that in beating their drum they are imitating the demon (iguánchi), who in their belief has his abode in the hills and is himself beating his own tundúi. The drumming is supposed to please the demon, who will come to the place and fill, with his spirit, both the drink and the drinking Indians.

The drinking itself takes place with about the same ceremonies as at the victory-feast. The person who has to drink empties a pininga which is offered him or her by one of the older Indians; he immediately throws up the quantity drunk, drinks again, and again throws it up. In this way considerable quantities are consumed during the natéma-days. The participants in the feast are bound to fast strictly, and are allowed to eat only after they have slept and had their dreams, their food then consisting of boiled and mashed manioc or boiled ripe bananas. This is repeated every day as long as the feast lasts.

The natéma-fibres which remain after the boiling is finished are always carefully guarded in a special place in the house and kept for a long time. The Jibaros allege that they do this only 'to know how much natéma they have drunk during the year'. Evidently even these remains of the wonderful vine are too sacred to be thrown away at once.

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

If one asks the Indians why they drink natéma in this excessive way, their answer is usually: 'It is in order that the people may not die away'. By this kind of divination they try to find out what dangers are threatening the family, whether enemies are planning an attack against them, whether evil sorcerers are operating against them, whether they will be successful in their own undertakings, and so forth. The magical drink, which as we have seen has the effect of an emetic, [435] purifies the stomach from harmful substances and the magic arrows of wizards. For this reason the Indians always pay great attention to what they throw up after they have taken this medicine. At the same time both men and women are, by drinking natéma, made strong and clever for their different occupations and duties, the men for hunting, fishing, war, etc., the latter for agriculture, for the education of the children, for the care of the domestic animals, and for other domestic work incumbent on them.

Apart from these general drinking-bouts, the grown-up members of the Jibaro community, not only the men but also the women, frequently drink natéma on several particular occasions. This drinking-ceremony usually takes place in the house. An earthen pot (piningà) containing the sacred drink is placed on the earth; the Indian who has to drink takes stand in front of the piningà, and thereupon begins to move to and fro in a sort of dance, muttering an incantation without words. Suddenly he seizes the pininga and empties it in one draught. The next moment he throws up the whole quantity drunk. Meanwhile, the cup has again been filled with natéma. The Indian again approaches the cup, dances and mutters an incantation just as he did the first time, and empties the pininga at a draught. The effects of the drink are now beginning to show themselves. The Indian takes a stick in order to lean upon it when he gets intoxicated. He staggers to and fro on the earthen floor, mutters some unintelligible words to summon the spirits, he leans against the stick and again throws up the natéma drunk. The same thing is repeated for the third, fourth, fifth time and so on, until at last the man is wholly overcome by the narcotic and goes off into a deep sleep, filled with the usual visions and hallucinations.

The Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking natéma in all matters which are of particular importance to him. Since an elderly man, and especially a warrior, nearly always believes himself to be threatened by enemies, he tries above all, by this kind of divination, to find out whether he has any enemies, who they are, and whether in making an attack against them he will be victorious, gain rich spoil, etc. Similarly he consults the natéma-spirits in order to know whether a journey he intends to make will turn out well, whether his wives are faithful to him, whether he will be lucky with a new woman whom he intends to marry, whether strangers will arrive on a visit, and so forth.

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

As we have seen, among the *Jibaros* even women are allowed to drink natéma. Thus, at the victory-feast, drinking the natéma on the [436] second day of the feast seems to be even obligatory on the nearest female relatives of the victor. It is also considered very important that the younger married women should take part in the general natéma-festivals, since in this way they will acquire the strength, skill, and insight necessary for their domestic occupations. During their dreams they get instruction by the spirits in these very matters. On these occasions, among other spirits, the mythical ancestress of the Jibaro culture, the Earth-mother Nungüi, appears to the woman, giving her advice and instruction with regard to the agriculture and consoling her in times of crop-failure and famine. In other matters which interest women she also receives the advice of the natéma-spirits. Thus, for instance, a widow who is looking for a new husband is in the habit of drinking natéma in order to be able to make a good choice.

The following instance, which tells us how a woman received the sacred stone nantára, gives us an idea of the revelations which the Jibaro women believe they have when intoxicated by natéma. Once, she told me, while she was still a girl, she was given natéma to drink. When she was well intoxicated, her grandmother came, seized her both hands, blew upon them and upon her arms, sprinkling juice of tobacco from her own mouth, and said to the girl: 'You will not die soon, you will have a long life and have much to eat. The stone which you wear in the hand will effect this'. In the same

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-19) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

moment there came, as it were, a flash of lightning from the heaven and the girl heard the voice of the spirit which said to her: 'I am your ancestral mother (apachiru). I will give you this stone in order that you shall have a long life'. Thereupon the vision passed, and when the hands of the girl were opened in the light of day, a wonderful red stone, nantára, was found in them. The stone called nantára is consequently by the Jibaro women looked upon as a fetish which not only gives a house-mother a long life and success in all domestic tasks but especially promotes the growth of the crops. It is therefore used by the women in agriculture in the way we have seen before [p.128]."

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"When medicine-men drink natéma in order to cure patients and to find out the cause of the illness, the drink is prepared in a somewhat different way. In this case the vines are boiled a whole day on a slow fire and the fluid is allowed to evaporate gradually so that ultimately only a very small but extremely concentrated quantity is left. Some fibres of the splitted stem as well as some leaves of another kind of vine which the Jibaros call iáhi (probably Haemadictyon amazonicum) are put into [437] the pot with the natéma-fibres and boiled. The leaves are handled with a short ceremony. The medicine-man, or the Indian who prepares the drink, first takes four iáhi-leaves and places them between the fingers of his left hand, arranges them in such a way that they form a cross, and puts them into the pot between the natéma-and the iáhi-fibres with the right side down. Thereupon he takes four other iáhi-leaves, arranges them between the fingers of the right hand and puts them in the same way into the pot upon the other leaves. Thus in all eight iáhi-leaves have been added to the natéma- and iáhi-fibres and boiled with them. The iáhi vine, which is specially cultivated by the Jibaros, is also a narcotic and is supposed to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

While the fluid is gradually boiling down, the natéma-and iáhi-fibres are taken out and carefully guarded. The remaining small quantity, a very strong decoction of a brownish-yellow colour and extremely bitter taste, is the natéma-medicine ready prepared.

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

During the treatment of the patient the medicine-man takes natéma in small but repeated doses in the way described before. As we have seen in addition to natéma, tobacco water is also taken, the effect of both medicines being that the curer becomes gradually intoxicated or even attains a state of ecstasy, during which he enters into communication with the demons who have caused the sickness."

1; Karsten--437-438 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"The medicine-men of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians not only drink natéma (aya huasca) when they are curing sick persons, but also when they wish to bewitch their own enemies. On these occasions they are in the habit of painting the face, and especially the regions round the eyes, with the red colour obtained from the seeds of the bush Bixa orellana. On the head they wear a feather ornament composed of the red and yellow feathers of the tucan (called tawása, tawasámba). They try to imitate the demons (iguánchi, supai) in their whole appearance, believing that thus they will be able to summon the spirits. The red face-painting is also supposed to protect them against the evil eye and the counter-witchcraft of enemy sorcerers. At the same time they play the peculiar string instrument called tsayandúru and turúmba and the soft tunes of which are believed to please the demons. When the Indian has taken the sacred drink he sits down to play this instrument, by which the coming of the natéma-spirit is hastened. The Indians explained to me the meaning of these arrangements in the following words. 'The demons are adorned in the same way with facial paintings and feather crowns, and when they see us wearing the same ornaments as [438] they use themselves and hear the tunes of the instrument, they are pleased and put in appearance as our friends.' At Canelos the sorcerers also play this instrument when they take huántuc, the second great narcotic of the Indians."

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 ( 1928-29)

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maíkoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the sub-tropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilised Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses.

In order to prepare the maíkoa-drink, the Jibaro Indian scratches off some of the light green rind of the stem, and sqeezes [sic] out the juice with the hand into a gourd until he gets the desired quantity, about a small drinking-glass full. (about 200 gr.). This is the dose which is taken at one time by one person and seems to be sufficient to

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

produce the effects desired.

Thus, maíkoa is not prepared by cooking like natéma, but simply consists of the juice contained in the rind. It is of a light green colour and not bitter to the taste like natéma, but rather insipid. Its effects, as already mentioned, are much stronger and show sooner than those of the other narcotic. Young people, when they take maíkoa for the first time, often become mad and strike out with weapons, sticks, and whatever they happen to get hold of, and may then become dangerous to those around. Therefore, when a Jibaro youth drinks maíkoa, some older [439] men are always present who watch his movements and sometimes even tie him down. The drugged man begins to talk confusedly and incoherently about all sorts of visions which he imagines he has, about spirits whom he fancies he meets, and at last falls into a deep, lethargic sleep, 'just as if he were dead' (hakáma).

Maíkoa is drunk by the Jibaros on much the same occasions as the natéma, and the revelations which they imagine they receive are much the same; yet to a still higher degree than the latter narcotic, maíkoa is the particular drink of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro Indian why he drinks maíkoa, his answer is usually: 'It is in order to see whether I shall kill my enemies' (shuāra mātinyu). The Jibaro warrior therefore never starts on a war expedition without previously consulting the spirits by drinking maíkoa. The same spirit tells him whether he is himself threatened by his enemies, whether he will have a long life, and so forth. Similarly in other important matters, although they have no particular reference to war, the Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking maíkoa.

The drinking ceremony takes place in the house, but the Indian prepares for it by taking tobacco water in repeated doses, and for this purpose he retires to the forest. In a remote place far from the habitations of men--sometimes the Indian has to walk one or two days to reach it--a shelter of palm leaves is constructed; it is the 'dreaming-hut', called ayámdai. It is much larger and made with greater care than the ordinary Indian shelter, and outside it there is an open place where the ground is carefully cleared and made level. On this open place the spirits appear dancing in all sorts of terrible shapes, and first of all come those powerful demons whom the Jibaros call arútama, 'the Old Ones', who give the sleeping Indian information and advice in the matters which interest him.

The 'dreaming-hut' is generally made in the neighbourhood of a waterfall where the water comes down from the high cliffs in the forest, forming a small pool below. In this pool the Indian takes a bath before and after the sleep.

The Jibaros are in the habit of retiring to the forest on these occasions because the arútama are supposed to appear to them more easily there. Generally the Indian who wants to dream remains away for three or four days. He may go alone, or he may go in company with other men. While on the way he has to fast strictly, but instead of food he takes tobacco water in repeated doses, through the nose. As soon as he reaches [440]the shelter, he first takes a bath, standing in the pool and allowing the streaming water to fall on his naked shoulders. The bath will prepare him favourably for the sleep and the revelations of the spirits. These spirits, it should be understood, are demons of the forest, but they are also present in the water of the cascades. After the bath the Indian goes to the hut, where in the evening he again prepares tobacco water, boiling the leaves in a small earthen pot which he has brought with him for the purpose. Having taken some of the medicine he falls in a deep sleep. In the following morning he again takes a bath in the pool. During the whole day he stays in the shelter, fasting strictly, a roasted plantain being his only food. On the other hand, he goes on taking tobacco water. Living in this way he spends a couple of days in the forest. On the fourth day, having taken his last bath in the waterfall, he returns home where he tells his dreams to the other Indians. It is only then that he takes maíkoa, of which one dose alone, after his nervous sensibility has been enhanced by the tobacco-drinking and the fasting, will infallibly produce in him the usual strange physical and psychical effects.

The drinking of tobacco water in the forest on these occasions seems to play an almost more important part than the maíkoa-drinking which takes place at home. As a matter of fact, the Jibaros generally enhance, by means of tobacco, the natural efficacy of the other narcotic drinks. Thus, tobacco water is also usually taken in preparation for natéma-drinking.

Since among the Jibaros the education of the boys chiefly aims at making them good warriors, maíkoa-drinking also occurs as a puberty ceremony. When, among the Jibaro tribes of the Upano and Santiago, boys reach the age of puberty, the feast called Kusúpani is held and the principal feature of it is tobacco-taking. On the fifth and last day the boy has to drink maíkoa. The details of this feast have been described before. Among the Pastaza tribes boys are initiated into manhood by maíkoa-drinking without previous tobacco ceremonies.

Maíkoa is moreover taken on the following occasions, as has appeared from my previous statements.

After the great victory feast has been brought to an end, the victor generally retires to the forest where he stays for some days taking maíkoa.

The making of the great signal drum, tundúi, is also celebrated by maíkoa-drinking in the way we have already seen.

The Jibaro man generally takes maíkoa after he has punished his [441] wife for infidelity. Again, boys who behave badly and are disobedient to their parents must drink maíkoa as a punishment, in the way related before.

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 276 787 ( 1928-29)

Although maíkoa is particularly the drink of the warriors, it may also be consumed by women, just as is the case with natéma. This, however, seems to be a comparatively rare occurrence. On these occasions the ancestral spirits, the arútama, are supposed to appear to them, and especially the Earth-mother Nungüi. When appearing to women these spirits do not of course give them instruction and information about affairs of war, but about domestic work and occupations which concern the women, in the same way as when they drink natéma.

The above description refers particularly to the practices of the Jibaros, which are of special interest. The CANELOS INDIANS, who were once as warlike as their relatives and neighbours the Jibaros, formerly practised the drinking of huántuc on much the same occasions as these. Nowadays they no longer make war against their enemies. Still even to-day huántuc-drinking plays quite an important role in the practical religion of the Canelos Indians, but mainly in connection with their magic and witchcraft. Huántuc, like aya huasca, is therefore chiefly taken by medicine-men and sorcerers, partly when they are curing disease, partly when they are trying to harm their enemies by nefarious magic. On these occasions the sorcerer is adorned in the way described before, wearing red facial painting and a feather crown on the head. Before he empties the mucahua (clay dish) containing the sacred drink, he sings a long conjuration over it, invoking certain demons, and particularly the paccha supai, the

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

demon of the cascades, inviting him to come to the place and to fill the drink and the sorcerer himself with his power. This incantation is called taquíshca. Afterwards, while waiting for the divine or demoniacal inspiration, he also plays the instrument turúmba in order to 'hurry on' the spirits."

1: Karsten--441-442 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the third narcotic, tobacco, it has frequently been mentioned in connection with the two other magical drinks, the natéma (aya huasca) and the maikoa (huántuc). The importance which the Jibaros ascribe to tobacco is enormous; from this plant they prepare their most powerful and most indispensable medicine. Some Jibaros of our own days may also use tobacco as a means of enjoyment, but it is certain that they have learnt this from the whites. It is remarkable that the Indians only use the tobacco they have received from the whites in this way, [442] but never their own. The tobacco which the Jibaros themselves cultivate is used by them only for strictly ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, the Indians would never use the tobacco bought from the whites for their religious ceremonies; they distrust it in the same way as they distrust other articles received from their hereditary enemies. The Indian tobacco, badly cultivated as it is, is not particularly strong; but since it is consumed in great quantities, its effects are still powerful enough."

1: Karsten--442-444 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros usually take tobacco in a liquid form, but in some cases they smoke it, making big cigars of the leaves. In the former case the leaves are either boiled in water, or chewed in the mouth and carefully mixed with saliva. When used at the great feasts the medicine is always prepared with saliva, which is supposed to enhance its supernatural effects. This medicine is prepared by an old man who conducts the ceremonies, and he has also to dispense it to the persons in whose honour the feast is held. The men on these occasions always receive the tobacco juice through the nose, the women again through the mouth.

After two or three doses the effects of the medicine are generally noticeable. The Indian turns pale and the whole body begins to tremble. After repeated doses giddiness and fainting-fits frequently occur, especially in women. At last the person in question becomes quite drugged and falls into a long sleep filled with peculiar dreams.

Tobacco is taken on the following occasions: first, as a universal remedy against disease and evils of any kind; secondly, as a prophylactic means of enhancing the magical power of the body, particularly to resist the evil spirits; and lastly, as a real narcotic to produce dreams. In all three cases the plant has a purely magical or religious significance.

When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body. In all cases of general indisposition, of headache, catarrh, and other slight illnesses, the Jibaro Indian makes use of this wonderful remedy to remove the evil. Besides, tobacco is regarded as an excellent prophylactic against witchcraft. To protect themselves against evil influences the Jibaros not only take tobacco [443] juice as a medicine, but are also in the habit of painting their body with it. Thus at the victory-feast I noticed that some of the men painted all sorts of 'geometrical' figures on the face and breast with tobacco juice, a decoration which, of course, was hardly visible upon the brown skin of the Indians, but was evidently supposed to possess prophylactic power.

From my previous statements it appears that tobacco is ceremonially used on many different occasions. It is the particular medicine of sorcerers and medicine-men. It is indispensable at the great feasts, the feast of the women, called Noa tsangu (literally: 'the tobacco feast of the women'); the feast of the men, called Kusúpani (literally: 'the tobacco-smoking feast'); and at the Einsupani, the great victory-feast of the Jibaros. On these occasions tobacco is in the first place used as a prophylactic against evil spirits and as a means of enhancing the natural power of resistance of the body;

1: Karsten--442-444 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

but in the second place it also serves the purpose of producing artificial sleep. On the other hand, there are cases when the medicine is exclusively taken as a narcotic in the latter sense. Just as the Indian take natéma and maikoa 'in order to have dreams', so they drink tobacco water for the same purpose.

The procedure has already been described in connection with the custom of drinking maikoa, for which, as we found, the Indian generally prepares by drinking tobacco water. As usual, the Indians on these occasions retire to the forest where, sleeping in the 'dreaming-hut' (ayámdai) they can more easily enter into communication with the spirits. Among the Pastaza-tribes the men remain in the forest for any period up to eight days. These are mostly younger people and as a rule several of them go out together. While on the way they fast strictly, taking, instead of food, tobacco water in repeated doses. For this purpose they rub the leaves between their hands and chew them, whereupon they spit out the stuff on a maize-leaf, mix in some more saliva and a little water, stirring it with their finger, and immediately take the medicine. This tobacco-diet is continued until they reach the dreaming-hut. This place, as already stated, is situated in the neighbourhood of a natural waterfall, where the Indians may take a bath before and after the sleep. Even here, while they receive the cold water upon their naked shoulders, they are still taking tobacco, mixing the chewed mass of tobacco with the water of the cascade and swallowing it. Thereafter they go to the hut

1: Karsten--442-444 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

where they pass the night. The following morning they tell their [444] dreams and visions to one another and discuss their possible significance. During the whole day, as usual, they only eat one roasted green plantain. This way of living is continued for every day of the time passed in the hut. When eight days have elapsed they return to their homes, very thin and weak on account of the strict fasting, but yet content if they have had favourable dreams.

The aim of this tobacco-drinking is the same as that of drinking *natéma* and *maikoa*. By submitting to this hard trial the Jibaro youths in the first place try to make themselves brave and successful warriors. They want to 'see their enemies' and to know whether they will be able to kill them, whether they themselves will have a long life, and so forth. Information about these matters is given them by those mysterious spirits which are called *arútama* and which always appea[illegible] to the narcotized Indian, whether the medicine causing the supernatural state is tobacco, *natéma*, or *maikoa*."

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"We now know the three powerful narcotics of the Jibaro Indians and the ways in which they are used. We have further to examine more closely the religious ideas which are connected with these narcotic drinks. The first question we have to answer is what ideas the Indians have about dreams in general.

The 'belief in dreams', i. e. the belief that the experiences man has during his dreams are as real as the experiences he has when awake, has frequently been said to be a characteristic feature of the mentality of primitive peoples in general. This mode of expression, however, is not quite adequate in regard to the beliefs of the Indians with whom we are dealing; too little is expressed by it. The Jibaros as a matter of fact are of opinion that only in dreams is true reality revealed to man. Normal, conscious life is a delusion in which we can have no confidence; it is full of deception, falsehood, and lies. Only the dream unveils to us the real essence of things, 'the thing in itself'. In the dream all men whom we meet, even our foes, invariably tell us the truth, and all know more than when awake, for here it is the souls (wakáni, aya) that meet, freed from the bonds of the corporeal existence. Even the dead, who in ordinary cases only seldom show themselves to the living, appear to the Indian in dreams, warning and instructing him by virtue of the supernatural knowledge they possess. The same is true of the other spirits and demons, the iguánchi and supai, otherwise so greatly feared by the Indians: being under magical restraint they do the sleeping Indian no harm, but on the [445] contrary act as his friends and advisers. Whoever therefore wants to know the real truth concerning the present time and especially concerning the future must sleep and have dreams, and since the sleep which nature by itself gives to man is not sufficient, it is necessary to produce it by artificial means.

Even the normal dreams are always believed by the Indians to have some prognostic significance. If, for instance, the Jibaro Indian dreams that he sees his enemies, fights with them and succeeds in killing them, he believes that in making war against them he will be victorious. If he dreams that he brings down many wild hogs, monkeys, and birds of the forest with his lance or his poisoned arrows, he is convinced that on the following day he will be lucky in hunting. If in the dream he meets strange Indians or white men, he is sure that such guests will soon arrive at his house. Similarly, if he dreams that in the forest or on the river some disaster happens to him, he interprets this as a bad omen and on the following day does not leave the house. An Indian on the Rio Upano once told me that during the preceeding night he had dreamt about a venomous snake which stung him in the forest. He had intended to go out hunting that day, but on account of the disagreeable dream he put it off and did not leave the house for three days. If he had gone out in the forest the following day, he said, he would certainly have been stung by a venomous snake.

However, those dreams are prophetic in the proper sense of the word which have been produced by drinking natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, for in such dreams the very spirits are, by conjuration, compelled to appear, who are able to give information about future events. These spirits are essentially the ancestors (apáchiru) of the sleeping Indian, who give their descendants advice and instruction. But on the other hand these spirits are also the souls (wakáni) of the narcotic plants themselves, with whom the Indian enters into intimate communion by consuming the drinks. It may, moreover, be added that the spirits which animate the natéma, the maikoa, and the tobacco are the souls of men; hence these drinks can only be prepared by the men, just as the corresponding plants can only be planted by the men.

The visions and other experiences which the Indians believe they have in the state of intoxication produced by natéma (aya huasca) and maikoa (huántuc) are in some

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

details differently described by the Jibaros [446] and the Canelos Indians (1). The CANELOS INDIAN, narcotized by aya huasca, in the first place sees wonderful landscapes, forests, hills, snow-clad volcanoes, lakes, rivers, or, more strictly speaking, the spirits (supai) which inhabit all these localities; secondly, the dead (aya) in the shape of skeletons; further, living people--Indians and white men, men and women--; finally, all sorts of animals, tucans and other magical birds, jaguars, pumas, bears, venomous snakes, and especially the giant serpent (amárun). All of these are demoniacal animals,

---

"1. As to the effects which the drinks prepared from the Banisteria caapi and Datura arborea produce upon a white man, I can only say that, living as I have mostly done, alone among the Indians I have not taken the risk of consuming them in larger quantities for the purpose of stating their mental and physiological effects. Still I have tasted both of them, finding the first exceedingly bitter, like quinine, and the second somewhat insipid and nauseous. White settlers at Canelos and Macas who have tried the aya huasca (natéma) have told me that in the state of intoxication they have in part had the same experiences as the Indians, seeing wonderful landscapes, hills, and rivers, beautiful birds, etc. Those particular 'spirits', on the other hand, whom the Indians profess to see, do not of course present themselves to a person who does not share their religious ideas and superstitions."

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

or forms in which the demons (supai) appear to the Indians. Since the Canelos Indians ascribe diseases to many of these demons, and particularly to the demons of the hills (úrcu supai), to jaguars (puma supai), and to venomous snakes, they appear especially to medicine-men who have drunk aya huasca for the purpose of curing disease, and they are compelled to extract the bewitching arrow (chunta), which they themselves have sent, from the body of the patient. The spirits also speak to the sleeping Indian, giving him advice and information.

To receive the revelations of the spirits in a state of intoxication is by the JIBAROS called wuimektinyu, which simply means 'to see'. The things which they 'see' are about the same in the dreams produced by natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, only with a small difference which I shall presently indicate. Thus, to the Jibaro Indian also in the first place wonderful landscapes, hills, rivers, and forests appear, since the spirits and demons inhabiting these localities (wakáni, iguánchi) are compelled to draw near. Particularly powerful, although generally malignant, are those demons who inhabit the hills and cordilleras (neindya iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers. These demons therefore particularly appear to the the [sic] medicine-men when curing disease. Again, when a Jibaro Indian for instance drinks a narcotic at some of the great feasts, [447] his visions have special reference to his domestic and economic life: he sees his swine and hens numerous and fat, he sees his house surrounded by flourishing manioc and plantain fields, and so forth. Further, the Indian sees all sorts of game, wild turkeys, tucans, parrots, wild pigs, agoutis, etc. When the sleeping Indian has such visions, it may happen that he suddenly starts up in excitement, points with his fingers at the birds and animals he fancies he sees, and exclaims: wuimekta, wuimekta, úmi surústa, úmi wakérahei, seása wakerahei, kúndinyaka túkusa yuohei, kuchi yuohei, atáshi yuohei, pákki yuohei, káyuka yuohei, etc. that is: 'Behold, behold! Give me a blowgun, I want a blowgun, I want arrow-poison, I am shooting game to eat it, I am eating pig's flesh, I am eating hen's flesh, I am eating the flesh of the hog, the flesh of the hare', etc. At such moments he must be held down on his bed by his comrades, but the fact that he has experiences of this kind is interpreted as a favourable omen by them: 'He has good visions, he has certainly seen the spirits'.

On the other hand, some Jibaro Indians at least say that when intoxicated by natéma or tobacco they see no human beings, who only appear to them after they have drunk maikoa. Among other spirits then appearing to them there are men, both Indians (Jibaros) and white men 'dressed in black clothes'. All these human apparitions are the ancestors (apachiru) of the sleeping Indian (for according to the tradition of the Jibaros even the whites have once been Jibaros), who give their descendants advice and instruction. The Jibaros call them maikoa eintseri, 'the maikoa-people'.

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

With the maikoa-people come other spirits. Among these there are not only the nature spirits and animal demons mentioned above; even inanimate objects, like articles of clothing, implements, weapons, needles, etc. appear to the sleeper as animate and assume the shape of young Indians.

The most important, however, of all spirits are the mysterious demons which have already been introduced under the name of arútama, and who make their appearance partly in the shape of wild animals, partly as striking phenomena of nature, partly in other shapes. At any rate these demons always appear when, from the Indian point of view, the dream is favourable or 'good'.

When these spirits, and especially the maikoa eintseri and the arútama, appear to the young Jibaro, who has taken the narcotic drink for the first time, they say to him: 'You have drunk our blood, you are a [448] good man, you will live long and kill your enemies in battle. Your domestic animals, the swine and the hens, will multiply, your fields will flourish and give abundant fruit. Your changina (basket of plaited vines) will always be full, you will not become poor but lead a plentiful life'. In private affairs the spirits give him true information and directions. If, for instance, he intends to make war against a strange tribe, the spirits let him know before hand whether he will be successful or not. 'This or that enemy', they say, 'you will vanquish and bring his head to your home'; or: 'If you make war against that and that enemy you will have no success, but you will be killed yourself'. Similarly, if he wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe who has bewitched one of his relatives with magic art the spirits tell him whether he will succeed in doing so or not.

The word arútama means 'the Old Ones'. These spirits, it should be understood, are the first ancestors of the Jibaros, and they were great warriors. Among the spirits there are, in the first place, two human apparitions. The first is called ikyáhinamchi. He is a Jibaro Indian, 'a red form enveloped in flames', and therefore not clearly visible. His voice, on the other hand, is distinctly heard. He calls out to the sleeping Indian, through his closed hand, certain words in the peculiar, staccato tone which is customary among the Jibaros when, in performing the Enéma, they ceremonially salute one another: wi--wikáhei--shuara --nikápsatahei--andúcta, that is: 'I go off (to the war), I will take (the heads of my enemies), listen!' The other human form is called mayéi, and he is also a Jibaro Indian. His name is derived from his custom of repeatedly calling out to the sleeper in a loud voice: mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, i. e. 'kill, kill!' To see or to hear the ikyáhinamchi or the mayéi in narcotic sleep is regarded as a good omen, for such a warrior will certainly be able to kill enemies.

Most of the arútama however, are animal demons. Among these there are in the first place the greatest and most dangerous beasts of prey which the Indian knows, first of all different species of the feline family: soacha, the great black jaguar, yambinga, shia-shia, yantsa, different kinds of the great spotted jaguar, the lion or puma, hapayawára, different kinds of tiger cat, called amicha, yantána, undúchama.

A powerful arútama is moreover the giant snake, Boa constrictor, and especially the water boa, called pangi or cuichi by the Jibaros. Besides the pangi, his 'brother' tsungi, another and probably purely mythical water monster, is revered as an arútama. Other water demons [449] of the same class are the great caiman or crocodile, kanyátsa, and the great otter, wangánimi, which is called by the Quichua-speaking Indians yacu puma, 'the water tiger'.

The bird demons are particularly numerous among the arútama. Among these are first of all the largest birds of prey, the great eagle or harpy, unta pinchu, the condor, yápu, and the owl, ambúsha; further, the demoniacal tucan, tsukánga, and another smaller bird of the tucan family called pininchi. The great macaws, the red one, takúmbi, and the yellow one, yambúna, are also arútama; further, the common green parrot kávashu, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola), called súmga by the Jibaros, the pelican, kauá, and two other birds of the forest which I have not been able to identify and of which the first is called sicha in the Jibaro language, the other chacu.

The sleeping Indian only dimly perceives the monsters which appear to him in the dream as arútama, but he hears their voices when, each in its own way, they speak to him. He hears the roar of the jaguar, the mighty soughing of the wing-strokes of the great eagle, the terrible hissing of the giant snake, and so forth. The smaller animals and birds also appear in narcotic dreams in a somewhat different shape than in normal life: their dimensions are much larger, but the visionary only perceives them in part --of the birds, for instance, he only sees the head and the neck, but not the wings--and all of them have the faculty of speech since, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors are incarnated in them.

Other arútama have the form of striking phenomena of nature. Among these there is the powerful hurricane (nássi) which frequently suddenly arises in tropical South America, passes through a limited area and causes great destruction in the virgin forest. Such hurricanes are always ascribed by the Indians to certain powerful demons (iguánchi), and the fact that these demons figure among the arútama makes it clear that they partake of the nature of ancestral souls. Other phenomena of nature which are explained in the same way, by the action of certain powerful spirits, are the lightning, chareimbi, the meteors and comets, payára, and the rainbow, tundyáka. These likewise appear to the Jibaro Indian in narcotic sleep and figure among the arútama.

Although in natural life these demons, or at least some of them, are regarded as being very malignant, they generally do the sleeping Indian no harm since they are under magical restraint or influence; on the contrary, as a rule they appear as his friends and advisers. Still [450] it may sometimes happen--as I was told by a Jibaro--that

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-11
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

an arútama wholly overpowers the dreamer and kills him on the spot. This idea seems to indicate that in exceptional cases the Indians may die from a too strong narcotic intoxication.

A practical consequence of the 'good' dreams is that if in real life the Jibaro warrior happens to meet for instance a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, or an eagle, he does not fear him and does not take to flight, but on the contrary is able to defy such a creature. He brandishes his lance, making threatening movements against him in the way customary among the Jibaros when they challenge their enemies, and calling out to him: 'You I know very well, for I have seen you in the dream. Come along, I do not fear you, I will kill you with my lance!' This is at the same time a proof to his comrades that he has really had 'good' dreams and has seen the arútama, and that he is a brave warrior. But if, on the contrary, a Jibaro, when meeting a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, an eagle, shows fear and takes to flight, this to his fellow-tribesmen is a proof that he has had bad dreams and would not make a good warrior, and that he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies.

In the same way, the Jibaro who has seen the arútama will not fear lightning, a rainbow, a falling meteor or a hurricane. On the contrary, even these enemies he boldly challenges with his lance and with words. In the dream he has, once for all, become acquainted with these phenomena, normally so terrible to the Indians; he knows their true nature and has been hardened against them.

Among the arútama there are some other striking appearances. One is called uhúmuka: it is a human head cut off, which is seen wandering along the ground. The spirit says to the sleeping Indian: 'You will become a brave warrior, you will go far away on the war-path and kill your enemies'. Similarly, if the Jibaro wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe, the uhúmuka-demon tells him whether he will be successful or not. Another arútama appears as a human arm cut off which is seen to float in the air. If only the forearm with the hand is visible, the appearance is called wehánga; if the dreamer only sees the upper arm, it is called kunduána. If in the dream the Indian tries to seize this arm, it vanishes into the air. The wehánga or kunduána says to the dreamer: 'Take this arm; I am your ancestor, the arm of your forefathers (apáchiru). Do not fear, with this arm you will be strong and kill your enemies'. A third appearance of the same kind is the makuána: [451] this is a leg cut off. This arutama, too, speaks to the dreamer in the same way as the other spirits and gives him good foreshadowings.

All these are what we have called 'good' dreams. We may ask, on the other hand, of what kind are the bad dreams. If the young Indian, during a narcotic sleep has no dreams at all, this is regarded as a bad omen. 'He is not a real man', is in that case the judgement of the oldest men of the tribe, 'he will become no warrior, and he will

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-13
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

not be able to kill any enemies'. If the Indian does not only sleep the whole night, but continues sleeping all the following day till sunset, this is also looked upon as a very serious omen. 'He will certanly [sic] not live long, he will soon sink into the earth like the sun'. If the *arútama* do not appear at all, if the young Jibaro has other kinds of visions or quite insignificant dreams, this is regarded as equally fatal. 'That youth will not live long, he will not kill any enemies, but he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies'. Such are the judgements which are most frequently passed on the 'bad' dreams by the old dream-interpreters.

Besides this, it is only natural that even the *arútama* and the *maikoa eintseri* sometimes give fore-shadowings which are unfavourable. If, for instance, the Jibaro warrior will soon fall a victim to the attacks of his enemies, the spirits may frankly tell him so beforehand. 'You will not live long, you will soon be killed by your enemies'. If he will perish through the magic arrow of a sorcerer or through some accident, the spirits may in the same way foretell it. It is characteristic of the demons who appear under the influence of the narcotic drinks that they always speak the absolute truth, just as they seem to possess actual knowledge.

It may also happen that the young Jibaro indeed sees the *arútama*, but in the very dream gets frightened at the sight of them and flees from them, so that he cannot be instructed by them or hardened against them. This, of course, is also a 'bad' dream.

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-14
116, 787, 276 ( 1928-29)

I have so far mainly spoken of the ideas of the Jibaro Indians proper. As to the visions of the CANELOS INDIANS when drinking huántuc, I have still to add that on these occasions they do not pretend to see any animal demons or nature spirits. What then appears to them is only a white man dressed in black clothes. This being is called pasúca by the Canelos Indians, and he is the real huántuc-demon (huántuc supai). He takes the sleeping Indian through the air to a distant place, where he gives him the warnings and instructions desired."

1: Karsten--452-453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros know both how to make rain and to stop rain by magical means. There is a kind of plant, called piripiri by the Jibaros, which is used for different magical purposes. Under this name, however, they seem to include various different species. Two of them, those which are called yúmi piripiri ('the rain p.') and esáta piripiri ('the dry weather p.') are used for making rain or, on the contrary, for making drought. Both are plants with long narrow leaves, but those of the 'dry weather piripiri' are shorter. In both cases the round roots of the plants are used. In a region like Eastern Ecuador and Peru, where it rains almost continually, there is seldom any real reason for the Indians to produce rain by artificial means; drought there is a very rare thing. When the Indians try to produce rain by magical means they nearly always do so merely out of wickedness, that is, to cause their fellow tribesmen harm or annoyance, especially when they are travelling on the river. When in 1917 I came from my long river expedition down to the Achuares on the middle Pastaza, I was surprised by heavy rains which lasted for weeks, caused the Bobonaza to swell, and made the ascension of the river extremely trying for my Indian crew. When at last we approached Canelos, one of my Indians said that he would make the rains to continue 'so that other travellers would have the same difficulties as we had had'. He procured a specimen of the yúmi piripiri, chewed the root in the mouth, jumped into the river, and took the mouth full of water, whereupon he blew the chewed root and the water against the sky with so

1: Karsten--452-453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 789 (1928-29)

much force as he could, assuring that the rains would soon begin again. [453] It had been fine weather that day, but the following day the rain again fell in torrents.

To make dry weather with the esáta piripiri the Jibaros likewise use the root, but in a somewhat different way than in the former case: it is burnt in the fire. The plant with the root fixed to it is given to a small child, who holds the root in the fire until it is consumed. A full-grown man or woman cannot do it. 'We full-grown people', an Indian explained to me, 'drink so much manioc-beer that our stomach is always full of water; we cannot therefore make dry weather in the way mentioned, but a child who drinks no manioc-beer has to do it.'

The leaves of the indéshi piripiri ('hair p.') are extremely long and narrow like human hairs. It is used to promote the growth of the hair. The root is again used: it is mashed and soaked in water, and the hair is washed in the solution, with the effect that it will grow 'long as the piripiri grass'.

The noa piripiri ('women's p.') is used in the same way as the simaika for the purpose of gaining the love of women, and has been mentioned before (p. 215).

Similarly the napi piripiri (snake's p.') has been mentioned before in connection with the curing of snake bite (p. 423)."

1: Karsten--453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 827, 484 (1928-29)

"When the Indians are travelling they always take with them some bundles of fermented manioc substance wrapped up in banana leaves, so that they can prepare the beer on the way whenever they find water. When they dilute a certain quantity of the manioc substance in the water, they never afterwards throw away the waste of manioc substance left, but they wrap it up again in the empty banana leaf and put a stone on the bundle, leaving it in this way at the resting-place. Then the manioc-beer which they have drunk will remain 'steady' in the stomach, and they will not soon get hungry again. This is the idea of both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--453-454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 481, 789, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros, when they are about to cross a broad river swimming, are in the habit of swallowing a fish-sound before they enter the water. In this way, they believe, they will be able to float on the water and swim as easily as a fish.

Similarly they take care, before entering the water to swim, to tie up the prepuce of their penis and to fix it to the stomach by means of a [454] cord which they always carry with them for the purpose.(1) If the water comes in contact with the glans, it is believed, it will impede erection at the right time and render coitus difficult."

---

"1. See the naked Indian on Plate XXIII, 1."

"The Jibaros, as also the Canelos Indians, do not think it proper to defecate in the immediate neighbourhood of the house and never leave their excrements in the open air, but every time make a small hole in the earth for the purpose which is afterwards carefully filled up. An evil wizard, they say, may throw his 'arrow' (tunchi) into the excrement by looking at it with an evil eye, with the consequence that the person who has left his excrements exposed will fall ill and die. Another way of making away with them is to defecate directly into the river and allow them to be carried away by the current. When I travelled with the Indians in canoe they always proceeded in this latter way.

Breaking wind is by the Canelos Indians looked upon with superstition and thought to endanger the person in question is some way; 'the soul (aya) thereby goes out'. When, therefore, among a party of Indians anybody suddenly breaks wind, it is customary that someone of the rest--the one who is the quickest to do so--draws his attention to it by clapping him with his hand three times on the back saying uianza, uianza! The meaning of this word is unknown, but the ceremony in question is regarded as an act of kindness and implies that the person who was the object of it has to prepare a feast. This feast is called Uianza. The both Indians, the one who broke wind and the other who clapped him on the shoulders, grasp each other's hands and a third again separates them, as in making a bet. This means that the first mentioned has pledged himself to make a

1: Karsten--454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 514, 827 (1928-29)

feast for the rest of the party. He has at once to arrange a hunting expedition and to make the usual preparations, and the feast is held after the lapse of eight days.

Another way of arranging the matter is that the person who broke wind is obliged to offer to the person who clapped him on the shoulders three big mucahuas (clay vessels) with manioc-beer as a reward for his 'kindness'. Frequently, I was told, of the two persons in question the one is a man, the other a woman."

1: Karsten--455-456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 771 (1928-29)

"Neither the Jibaros proper nor the Canelos Indians in their native state know of any special resting-place for disembodied souls after death, though both tribes certainly have a firm belief in the continued existence of the soul after its separation from the body. During the first days and weeks after that separation the soul remains in the neighbourhood of its former material abode; hence food and drink is put out for it on the grave for some time. But soon the soul definitively leaves all connection with the body and leads an independent existence: it may transmigrate into earthly objects, into animals, plants, hills and high mountains, rivers, lakes, etc. The dark and dense forest is the favourite haunt of many disembodied spirits, others soar towards the sky and become active in striking natural phenomena, whereas others find no definite resting-place at all but hover about in the air and on the earth as evil demons. To these demons the Indians ascribe the majority of the unforeseen accidents, mishaps, and losses which they experience, and most of them are spirits of men who even in their lifetime were enemies, spirits of dead sorcerers, etc. It is thus obvious that the demons who people the spiritual world of these Indians partake of the nature of human souls. Some of the souls, called wakáni by the Jibaros and aya by the Canelos Indians, are changed into evil spirits or demons called iguánchi and supai respectively, and are dealt with in the different ways we have seen in recent chapters. On the other hand, the important class of supernatural beings whom we know under the name of arútama

1: Karsten--455-456
116, 771

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

show how the ancestral spirits are believed to take an interest in the fate of their descendants and become the objects of a real worship. The religion of these Indians as a whole may therefore be said to have originated in the deification and worship of the dead, especially the worship of dead ancestors. A special and peculiar side of this ancestor-worship will be met in connection with the ceremonial games which are arranged among the Canelos Indians [456] after the death of a family-father and will presently be described."

1: Karsten--456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 761, 751 (1928-29)

"As I have stated before, the savage Jibaros never consider death natural. Death to them is always something 'unnatural', that is, it is always explained as the direct or indirect result of a wicked action, as a murder committed by an open or secret enemy. This is why the Jibaros annouce [sic] a death in the same way as they announce an approach of their enemies--by beating the big drum (tundúi) in that particular way which tells their friends that they are in danger. This is the ceremony Pakínmawae, mentioned before. Experience has taught the Indians that one death is frequently followed by another, and this is explained by the theory that the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient is moving about looking for fresh victims among his kinsmen. Small children are especially liable to be 'caught by the disease-demon'. Hence, when in the other houses the beats of the tundúi are heard, the family-father at once takes some water in a gourd and wets with it the crown of the head of each child. This 'baptism' is supposed to protect the children against the disease-demon, *i. e.* the contagion."

1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The first feelings which a death arouses in the relatives of the defunct are therefore those of anger and despair. The women--especially the widow or widows, if the deceased was the family-father--start wailing and crying, shouting loudly and tearing their hair, whereas the men shake their fists and pronounce curses on the evildoer, such-and-such enemy sorcerer being mentioned as the probable author of the death. These imprecations and violent outbursts of sorrow last for a long while and, of course, assume to a certain extent different forms according to the sex, age, and position of the deceased. Similarly, the mode of burial varies according as it is, for instance, a child, a woman, or the family-father who has died.

Wailing in the proper sense of the word is the duty on the women, i.e. the nearest female relatives of the dead person. If the family-father dies, it is of course the duty of his widow or widows to wail, and this wailing, at least in part, has a ceremonial character. Nevertheless the pathetic way in which the Indian widow laments over her deceased husband, speaking to him and giving him all sorts of pet names, praising his good qualities, reminding him of episodes in their life together, and deploring her own forlornness, makes a powerful impression upon a listening stranger. These mournful monologues of the Indian widows [457] in fact form part of the lyric poetry of the Indians and they are always sung, and accompanied with crying. Their contents seem to be in the main always the same. The following is a typical instance of these

1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764 (1928-29)

mourning monologues.

The corpse is stretched out on a bench in the middle of the house and the widow moves about it the whole night, incessantly addressing her deceased husband in much the following words:

'O my dear husband, why have you left me alone, why have you abandoned me? How happily we have passed the years together in harmony, until cruel fate and the tunchi of the treacherous enemy separated us! You will never again wake me in the morning with your speech, when you were cooking your tobacco water and guayusa at the fire! I shall never any more hand you the pininga with manioc-beer and bring you your meal. Never any more will you send me out to the fields in the morning to fetch manioc and sweet potatoes, or remind me to take care of the swine and the fowls and the hunting dogs! And when friends came to visit us, who was it that always used to call me to welcome them with nice, fresh nihamánchi? Who will hereafter fell the trees for me and clear the ground to make the manioc and banana plantations, or help me with cleaning and tending the fields? Who will hereafter make a red-striped tarachi for me for the feasts, who will bring me game from the forest or the gaily-coloured birds which you used to shoot with your blowgun and your poisoned arrows? All this you did for me, but now you lie there mute and lifeless. Your mouth has ceased speaking, your arm is paralyzed for ever. O, dear me, what will become of me?'

1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 764 (1928-29)

Amidst all these bitter remembrances another sentiment suddenly comes to her. She recollects who is really responsible for this bad luck, since from the beginning it has been clear that the sickness and death was not due to any immutable laws of nature but to the secret art of some wicked sorcerer. She will then continue in somewhat the following way:

'And there he sits in peace, the cursed wizard who took the life of my husband with his treacherous arrow, and rejoices over his deed, whereas I, whom he made a widow, am here in an agony of sorrow! Woe to you my sons, if you do not punish the blood-guilt and take revenge upon the evildoer! Why have I brought you forth, why have I tended you and educated you, if you forget your most sacred duty to your father and allow the criminal to escape his righteous punishment?'

This wailing takes place more especially immediately after the death and at the funeral, but it is occasionally repeated for a long time after-[458] wards when, in one way or another, the woman is reminded of the defunct. Early the following morning the corpse is buried. The mode of burying, as I said, may vary. The Jibaros practise all modes of burial except cremation, but earth-burial and platform burial are those most common. A family-father, before he dies, frequently gives his own people instructions as to how he wishes to be buried, and these are carefully respected since the spirits of the dead are generally feared and may reappear as revengeful ghosts if their

1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764 (1928-29)

orders and the attention due to them are neglected. The remains of the dead family-father are therefore treated differently from those of others, but one main principle is that as a family-father and the owner of the house he shall remain there after death, which entails the house being afterwards abandoned by the family. One custom, commonly practised, is that the dead Indian is placed in a sitting posture upon a kutánga, a small bench used by the Jibaros, and tied to one of the central pillars of the house, leaning his head upon his hands. He is not, however, left in this way above the earth, but under it, a pit being dug in the ground close to the pillar sufficiently large to take the corpse in this sitting position. Thereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled, so that the food and manioc-beer, the lance, a basket, and some other things which the deceased is supposed to need in the other world can be placed there. The food is renewed every day for one week; after that no further attention is paid to him, but the house must be abandoned."

1: Karsten--458-459 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 768 (1928-29)

"The belongings of the dead are disposed of in different ways. Some must disappear with the dead because they are taboo; these are naturally such as have been in close contact with him especially during his last sickness as, for instance, the clothes in which he lay sick and in which he died. The same is the rule in regard to the pininga from which he ate and the gourd which he used as a drinking cup. All these articles to which the taboo of sickness and death attach, are interred with the body, or destroyed and got rid of in some other way. Similarly his comb, whether he had used it during his illness or not, is always destroyed, evidently because the comb which has been in contact with the hair of the dead man is in an eminent sense taboo. Certain other and more valuable belongings are, on the other hand, kept as they had not been in contact with him so recently, for instance his best itipi or loin-cloth used for feasts and visiting, his blowgun, and his lances (with the exception of the one which must be left on the grave). These objects therefore are inherited by his sons, and divided between them. When a woman [459]dies, her belongings--with the exception of those destroyed or interred with the body--are inherited by her daughters."

1: Karsten--459-460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"Still more common among the Jibaros is platform burial. In this case the corpse is generally placed in a sort of coffin consisting of a hollowed trunk, which is then closed by means of pieces of bark and vines. The coffin is then placed upon a frame on high poles in the middle of the house. Naturally the house is abandoned as in the first case. When one of the other members of the family dies, for instance a wife or a son or daughter, his or her body is disposed of in the same way: it is placed in a hollow tree trunk, and this new 'coffin' is placed beside of the first one on the same frame. Thus real 'family graves' arise among the Jibaros, which of course only exist for a limited time, since both the house and the coffins are liable to rot away in a few years. When this has happened, the surviving relatives simply bury the remains in the ground, without any particular ceremonies.

I have also heard of other modes of disposing of a dead family-father. Thus at Rio Zamora, I was told, a dead Jibaro man had been simply wrapped in a bast mat and tied to the door post of his house in [460] a standing posture, with his face turned towards the interior of the house as if had been entering the same. Such a primitive and repugnant way of treating a corpse, however, I think is rare."

1; Karsten--460
116, 766

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Ordinary earth burial is frequently resorted to when women and children die. The burial place may be within the house or outside it, and it is curious that in the former case the rest of the family members continue living there. A grave is for instance simply dug in a corner of the house, or close to one of the walls, and the corpse is placed there in a lying posture, whereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled so that it resembles the rest of the earthen floor. I have frequently visited Indian houses where women or children have been buried in this way, and been able to confirm that the inmates find this arrangement perfectly natural. There seems not to be, in these cases, any fear of the ghost of the dead, probably because the spirits of women and children are never feared to the same extent as the spirits of men, and especially the spirits of old men and medicine-men. Nor was food or drink placed on the graves of the women buried in the house in any of the cases which came under my notice.

In other cases dead women are buried outside, at a short distance from the house. A primitive shelter of thatch is made, resting upon four poles, and the corpse is buried under this.

Lastly, a kind of urn-burial also occurs among the Jibaros, although only for small children. The urns used for this purpose are the big clay pots in which the manioc-beer is kept. The body of the child is placed in the urn in a squatting attitude--that of the foetus in the mother's womb--then it is closed with another smaller flat clay pot.

1: Karsten--460
116, 766

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

Where the clay vessels touch each other is plastered round with clay, so that the urn is hermetically sealed. It is placed on a tripod close to one of the pillars of the house in the same way as the clay pot containing manioc-beer, and in this way the remains of the child are kept for a long time, and then buried. --Whether this urn-burial of small children is connected with any special ideas of rebirth, etc., I cannot say.

No burial is thought of in the case of persons who have been killed in war and whose heads have been carried off by the enemies (p. 292). A dead body is buried above all for the sake of the soul, but the soul of a kinsman killed in war was carried off along with the head. It would therefore be useless to bestow burial upon his body."

1: Karsten--460-461 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 765 (1928-29)

"That a death gives rise to many taboos is natural. We have already seen how the clothes and certain other objects which have been in con-[461] tact with the dead are destroyed and made to disappear. The same may be said of the mourners themselves, who are so closely related to the very source of this mysterious defilement. Thus the nearest relatives have to restrict their diet for some days: they are forbidden to eat mani or earth-nuts, pork and hen's flesh, as well as salt and Indian pepper; they cannot chew sugar-cane, nor eat a dish of boiled and mashed manioc called sumbi; manioc-beer, on the other hand, they are allowed to drink. Instead of eating the flesh of domestic animals they may eat any kind of game. When four days have passed they may eat hen's flesh, and after six days they are allowed to eat everything. For six days they must also abstain from sexual intercourse. Any infringement of these rules is likely to endanger the other relatives: they may fall ill and die themselves, since the evil spirit who took the life of their relative may also take theirs."

1: Karsten--461-463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The fear of the death taboo has given rise among the Indians to certain other precautions, some of which are of a very peculiar nature. First, the female relatives of the defunct, and especially the widow or widows, have to cut their hair short immediately after the death takes place, and they likewise abstain from wearing ornaments. A widow is not allowed to remarry until her hair has again grown long, or in about one year. Further, she is purified by the smoke from a termite nest set on fire, in the way related before (p. 212). Other members of the family too have to pass through a certain purification ceremony, mainly consisting of tobacco water or strong Indian pepper being squirted into their eyes. Among the Jibaros living at Yaupi, a small tributary stream of the upper Morona, this purification is connected with a curious game of blindman's-bluff and is performed in the following way. The corpse is buried on the second day after death. On the same day the surviving relatives must abandon the house, a rule always observed among the Jibaros when the family-father dies. Everything is packed into bags and all is ready for the departure. Before the Indians leave the house, the following ceremony takes place. An old woman has made ready in a small gourd a mixture of Indian pepper (hīmya) and water, and the surviving members of the family will be 'prepared' with this medicine. All of them arrange themselves in a circle in the middle of the house, and the old woman hangs round their necks a peculiar collar consisting of a cotton string to which a small chonta thorn is tied. This

1; Karsten--461-463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764 (1928-29)

detail of the ceremony is called yupingrama and is known to all Jibaro tribes. Thereupon the old woman goes round and injects a little pepper-water [462]into the eyes of each member of the family, even those of the children. The strong liquid makes the people temporarily quite blind, and they are unable to open their eyes. The old woman now goes away and hides in a corner of the house, or behind one of the chonta posts supporting the house. The rest of the party start to look for her, feeling round with their hands. If someone hits upon the woman, the latter explains to him: 'You would probably have been the first to die of the same disease'. Again, if after a long search no one finds the old woman, she declares : 'It is all right, nobody else of the family will die of this disease. Now let us go, that the Disease (iguanchi, the demon) may not catch us.' They arrange themselves in a row, take their bags on their shoulders and move away from the house. The old woman goes last of all, strewing ashes on the footmarks of the departing Indians.

As to the ceremony called Yupingrama,(1) when a small chonta thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, its meaning is clearly indicated by the Indians themselves. The family-father has died in consequence of a chonta thorn sent by a hostile Indian

---

"1. Yupingrama literally means: 'to make oneself knowing', 'to take precautions.'"

sorcerer; consequently, when such a thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, it acts as an amulet which will protect them against a magic arrow of the same kind. Similarly, of course, the game of blindman's-buff is prophylactic in character, like some other games of this kind which will presently be mentioned.

Apart from this last detail, the Jibaros always consider it necessary to perform a purificatory ceremony with the survivors after a death, especially that of the family-father. When the coffin has been placed on the frame, the death-demon (iguanchi) is believed to take his seat on the top of it in the shape of a bird, ready to fall upon any person who comes in contact with the bodies placed there; this is the explanation given by the Indians themselves. This demon is the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient, but he seems also to be identified, in a mysterious way, with the disembodied soul of the dead family-father, who is supposed to be jealous of his surviving relatives. Among the Jibaros of the Upano and upper Pastaza no game of blindman's-buff takes place, but before the family leaves the house each of its members has to be treated in the way described above, a solution of Indian pepper or strong tobacco juice being squirted into his or her eyes by the oldest man or woman in the family. At the same time the particular ceremony is performed which [463] I have just described under the name of Yupingrama. The old man or woman, having hung the cotton string with the chonta thorn round the neck of a person, slightly fans his face with the magical bundle

1: Karsten--461-463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764 (1928-29)

of leaves which the Jibaros call shingi-shingu, to conjure away all evil influences. Thereupon all of them, in an ordered row, leave the house for ever.

Among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza again, it is customary that the mourners, after the dead person has been buried, slightly prick themselves over the whole body, on the arms, the legs, the shoulders, the breast, and the stomach with a pointed arrow of the kind the Jibaros use for their blowguns. This is believed to protect them against the soul of the deceased. In a dream the nearest relatives may meet the disembodied soul who says to them: 'Come, let us dance together.' Then the spirit of the person so addressed will answer: 'No, I cannot, for I have my body full of sores.' If he has not pricked himself in the way mentioned, he will obey the exhortation of the dead relative's spirit to dance with him, and in consequence he will soon die. The Achuares therefore say that they prick themselves in the way described 'in order not to die'.

As I have said, wailing is not limited to the days immediately after death, but is repeated now and then for a long time afterwards, when in one way or another the woman is reminded of her loss. She may suddenly interrupt her work to abandon herself for some moments to an outburst of sorrow, crying loudly and repeating some of the phrases just mentioned. It seems that the arrival of a stranger at the house in particular causes her to repeat the wailing, and a visitor often gets the impression that the crying is a way of welcoming him. One of the guests--so the Jibaro women have explained the

1: Karsten--461-463
116, 764

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-5

matter to me--may remind her in some way of her deceased husband and thus awake in her the sorrow and longing for her dead husband. Or, she recollects how her husband used to receive such gusts.[sic] 'If he had lived now, his first act would have been to call me to bring them manioc-beer.' Such associations of ideas are quite characteristic of the Indian woman. Her wailing after the death of a beloved relative therefore cannot be explained as merely an empty ceremony; it is undoubtedly partly an expression of genuine sorrow, showing the same capability of tender feelings as appears in the lyric poetry of the Indians, for instance in the songs addressed to the birds in connection with certain feasts."

1: Karsten--463-464 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 769 (1928-29)

".... there is a great dread of the disease-and death-demon, who is more or less identified with the spirit [464] of the deceased. Spirits of old men, especially those of family-fathers and medicine-men, are particularly feared, and the food and drink which is placed on their graves is offered to them chiefly with a view to propitiating them and gaining their favour. Deceased family-fathers require to be worshipped, and unless the due cult is paid to them may revenge themselves. That the cult of the dead is, in the first place inspired by fear, appears from the words which are addressed to the spirit when the relatives are about to leave the house, having placed the offerings on the grave: 'Take this food, spirit, and do us no harm! If you want to cause evils, go to Shuāras of other families or tribes, our enemies, and harm them, but leave us in peace!'

It is thought that the spirits of the deceased (wakáni) like to visit their surviving relatives even after they have moved to another house, and in case their cult has been neglected they may punish them by sending disease, by killing the swine or the hens or the dogs, or by robbing small children. A wakáni of this nature is looked upon as evil iguanchi. He may, during the sleep, entice even the souls of grown-up people to follow him to the forest, where he gives him a certain beetle, called shúndu, to eat, with the consequence that the person in question will get mad. When the wakáni visits the house he comes in a shadow-like form and is as a rule invisible. However, someone of

1: Karsten--463-464
116, 769

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

the people in the house may see him for a moment entering, taking a few steps into the room, and again disappearing. Frequently the spirit is hungry and comes to seek food. He opens the big clay pot where the manioc substance is kept, by removing the leaves covering its mouth, and takes of the substance to prepare beer. Afterwards it looks as if a child's hand had been in the clay pot taking manioc. 'The spirits', the Indians explained, 'need only a little; they only consume the essence of the food and drink'."

1: Karsten--464-465　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro
116, 769　　(1928-29)

"To keep off the spirits of recently dead persons from the house, the Jibaros are in the habit of painting upon the doors small human figures with the hands stretched out, figures of snakes, birds, etc. (See Pl. XVII, 2). The Jibaros, as we have seen, not only use primitive doors consisting of a few poles by means of which the entrance is shut, but also doors more resembling those of civilized peoples. The figures in question I was informed, represent the souls of the departed (wakáni) and are by no means only decorations. 'The departed', I was told, 'like to visit their relatives and may strike us with sickness and death or other misfortune. But when they find their own images painted upon the door they are pleased and do us no harm.' This is another expression for [465] the fact that the spirits of the dead are simply conjured or in some way controlled and kept at bay by means of the figures representing them.

Although the dead are as a rule resentful, they may on the other hand reward such relatives as know their duties towards them by bestowing all sorts of material blessings upon them."

1: Karsten--466 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The customs observed by the Canelos Indians after a death in some respects considerably differ from those of the Jibaros proper, and are in part of very great interest. As we have seen, they share the belief of their savage kinsmen as to the causes of death, although the practical consequences of this belief are not drawn. Being Christians by name they now practise only one way of disposing the remains of the dead, namely earth burial, but formerly platform burial also was common. Among some of the Canelos Indians, for instance those living at Sarayacu, who are great canoeists, the coffin simply consists of a bipartite canoe in which the body is placed and buried. 'In his lifetime', the Indians explained, 'the deceased had frequently travelled in canoe, therefore he ought also to make his last journey in a canoe.' Still the Canelos Indians, as far as they are not influenced by the Christian ideas of a heaven or a hell, have not developed any theory about the final resting-place of the departed."

1: Karsten--466-467 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 763, 533 (1928-29)

"Wailing at Canelos is about the same as among the Jibaros. Similarly it is customary that visitors arriving at a house where a death has recently taken place are received wailing. The Canelos woman always wails singing, but since she sings violently sobbing, the melody is somewhat difficult to render. It is characteristic of this song that it always begins in a high and strong falsetto tone; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last tones are only heared[sic] as a low, distant murmur. The following is the usual mourning song of the Canelos woman:

Nyuca curilla,
Nyuca cusalla,
Imamant' saquishcani,
Imamant' ichuscani,
Imata tucushcani? [467]

In translation:

'My dear one, (1)
my dear little husband,
why have you left me,
why have you abandoned me?
What will it become of me?'"

---

"1. Curilla (a diminutive of curi, 'gold') literally means, 'My little gold.'"

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"What makes the funeral customs of the Canelos Indians particularly interesting are the ceremonial games which take place the first night after death, during the vigil. Among these Indians custom prescribes that during the first night after the death of the head of the family or the housewife the surviving relatives must hold vigil, thereby entertaining themselves, among other things with a dice game. The object of the game is partly to distribute the property of the dead among the survivors, since otherwise it is taboo and cannot be touched by anybody, partly to protect them against the contagion of death, that is, the disease-and death-demon. This game derives its origin from the mountain culture in Ecuador and Peru, where it is still played in a somewhat different form by the Quichua-speaking Indians.

The game is at Canelos called Huairitu--a diminutive form of the Huayru of the mountain Indians--and the die consists of a piece of manioc, about 10 to 12 cm. in length, with four sides, each side about 3 or 4 cm. broad, both ends [468] flat, so that the die can stay upright. If the game is played in honour of a dead woman, the die is somewhat smaller than if the deceased was a man. Of the four sides one is provided with three small holes; this is called singu, after which the whole die takes its name. The opposite side is quite empty and is therefore called llambui ( nil, zero). Of the two remaining sides one generally bears four holes (chuscu in Quichua) and the other 10 (chunca).

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Among the Indians of Sarayacu, one of the four sides is hollowed out, so that the whole piece is like a small canoe, both ends of which are flat. The opposite side, which forms the bottom of the canoe, is empty (llambui); of the two other sides one has 3 small holes (singu), the other again 10 (chunca).

Apart from this, the huairitu game is played in the same way at Canelos and Sarayacu. The following is the manner in which the game is played at Sarayacu with the canoe-formed die.

If the die, when it is thrown, remains upright, the player has won the stake and he has, besides, the right or obligation to 'punish' his opponent. If, on the other hand, the empty side, which represents the bottom of the canoe, remains upward (llambui), the player has lost his cast. If the open side of the canoe remains upward, this is also reckoned as nil, but it is not indicated by a special name. If either of the sides which are provided with 3 or 10 holes remains upward, the player receives 3 or 10 maize grains accordingly, and these he at once puts aside.

When the family-father or -mother dies, it is the obligation of the surviving relatives to spend the first night in watching 'in order to accompany the soul (aya) on its last wandering'. During the first night the soul stays in the house, in the vicinity of the dead body, but afterwards goes to the heavens, to the mountains or the forests. Since the deceased has in his life often travelled by canoe, he starts his last journey in a canoe. This is the reason why the Sarayacu Indians give the die this form.

Among these Indians, just as among the Quichas of the Sierra, men alone take part in the game, never women and children. Likewise, only the invited guests play, never the nearest relatives of the deceased. If someone of the latter plays huairitu, the deceased will drag him along with him to the other world, that is to say, he will soon die. Similarly, among the Canelos Indians it is regarded as a great offence against the departed parent should anyone fall asleep that night. The departed soul itself does not leave such an Indian in peace, but draws him by the feet[469]so that he may not sleep. If he really falls asleep, his sleep will be very restless. In the morning when he wakes he will feel tired and sick and shortly afterwards he will die.

As soon as the patient has expired, guests are invited from all houses in the neighbourhood in order that they may take part in the vigil and play huairitu. The guests arrive after sunset and are, as is the custom among these Indians, generously entertained with manioc-beer (asua). The dead man is dressed in his best clothes and placed on a bier at one of the walls of the house. All around food of every kind, manioc, plantain, fowl, eggs, chicha, and so forth, is laid in various gourds, all these dishes being intended for the defunct. The playing men are arranged in two rows, opposite each other, so that every player has an opponent. The player who succeeds in throwing the die upright wins a hen, a head of plantain, manioc, chicha, or some other thing. What is won is at once taken out from the remainder and kept for the winner until the morning. If someone throws singu, he receives as already mentioned, three maize grains, which are likewise kept till the morning, one who throws chunca receives ten, and so on.

The player who wins the stake is, moreover, entitled to punish his opponent, which he generally does by striking him on the back of the hand with his own hand, or giving him a fillip on the forehead.

Early in the morning the hens, won by the players in the course of the night's gambing, are slaughtered, boiled and eaten by all communally with manioc and plantain. Every player likewise counts the grains he has won, keeping a special account of how many times he has thrown singu and how many times chunca. These grains generally have no practical importance; they only indicate the relative favour bestowed upon him by the deceased.

To the Indian mind, the huairitu game is not a mere game of hazard. The departed soul is believed to hover about the dead body the whole night, itself personally interferring in it. The player only throws the die on the ground; it is the unseen hand of the deceased which turns it in this way or that, according as he wishes to favour the player or not.

Just as those, who win nothing, but repeatedly throw llambui, are regarded as more or less antipathetic to the deceased and are therefore punished, so, on the contrary, the one who wins most is regarded as his particular friend and favourite. He is in consequence particularly honoured by the relatives and in the morning leaves the house of death richly endowed with presents of manioc, plantain, eggs, chicha, etc. [470]

It is a bounden duty of the survivors to honour the deceased with an huairitu game. If there is no wake and the game is not played, the deceased will feel offended and it may happen that he takes revenge on his relatives by sending disease and death, failure of the crops and famine, or some other misfortune. On the other hand, he will reward those relatives who pay him due honour. Their domestic animals will increase in number and their fields will flourish; in their house food will never be lacking, there will be plenty of manioc, plantain, game etc. He will moreover arrange that those, who now render him this service of love, will themselves, when they die, have people to honour them in the same way."

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians know yet another dice game that is played after a death, but this has now fallen almost into desuetude. It is called *singu* or *huairitu* like the game just described, but the die used is of another kind. This die, which may perhaps more properly be called a playing-board, consists of an almost circular wooden disk, about 15 cm. in length and 2 to 3 cm. in breadth. The obverse is somewhat convex, so that the disk can easily be put in motion by turning it round. On the right side of the disk a small human figure is incised or annealed. This figure represents the soul of the deceased (*aya*) and is called *huahua huairitu*, 'the *huairitu*-babe'. On both sides of this figure three small holes are applied and furthermore one hole between its legs, in a fashion which appears more clearly from the drawing. (Fig. 13). Thus there are in all 7 holes on the disk.

The corpse is placed on a bier in the middle of the house. Upon its paunch a board or some similar flat and even object is laid and upon the latter a cloth is stretched tightly. Upon this board the *singu*-die is placed.

The players arrange themselves on both sides of the bier. As usual, all of them are guests invited to the feast, and all are men. Each player had brought with him a small gourd containing charcoal and some water, when he arrived at the house. [471] With this colouring matter the guests paint certain black ornamental markings on the face before they begin the game.

I: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Round the bier and in front of each player the widow of the deceased has placed an equal nufmber of gourds containing different kinds of food which belonged to the dead Indian when alive: manioc, plantain, earth-nuts, eggs, chicha, as well as living hens tied by the feet. The food and the hens are staked at the game. Everything is really intended for the deceased, but since a soul needs only a little food, the deceased distributes most of it among the players, according as they possess his affections.

Each of the players has an opponent who is seated opposite him on the other side of the bier. If a player is victorious in the game, it is his opponent's share in the food that he wins. If he looses, he looses his own share to his opponent, who besides is entitled to punish him.

In the game five grains are used which are thrown on the singu-board. The players throw the grains by turns: at first A of the one row, then his opponent A´of the other row; thereupon B of the first row, and B´of the other row, and so forth.

Of the five grains one is at once placed in the hole which is situated between the legs of the small figure. This grain indicates the departed Indian's own share in the dishes put out, and it should not therefore be touched or removed by the players. The four remaining grains are taken by the player whose turn it is to throw them, and he takes his stand at the head of the corpse. The board is usually placed so that the small figure is orientated in the same direction as the corpse, its head being turned towards the corpse's head. The player now throws all of the four grains at once upon the board, the intention being that they should enter into some of the six empty holes. We may assume that one grain enters into one of the holes, whereas the others fall outside. In that case the player is entitled to repeat the throw with these three grains, and, if he prefers, may throw them from the foot-end of the corpse. We may assume that one more of the grains enters into a hole. Now the player seizes the board with outstretched fingers, in the manner shown in the drawing (fig. 14), and turns it cautiously round. This should be done so that the three grains which lie in the holes, that is, the one which had previously been laid between the legs of the figure and those now thrown in, do not fall out. The manoeuvre of turning the board is now repeated once more. The idea is to have it confirmed that the result of the cast was not accidental, but that the deceased is really willing to give up thus [472] much of his share to the player as is indicated by the cast. In other words, an opportunity is given him to confirm the result of the cast, and possibly to alter it. If two grains have fallen each into its hole, this means that the player has won 4--2, that is, a half of the quantity of food which his opponent has in front of him. If the latter has, for instance, two hens and four eggs, the winner receives one hen and two eggs; he also receives half of his quantity of chicha, and so forth.

If, after the two casts, only one grain has entered into a hole, the player is entitled only to a fourth of the quantity of food possessed by his opponent. Again, if all four grains have entered into holes and, by the controlling test, managed by turning the board round, none falls out, then the player has won his opponent's whole share, which is at once given over to him. At the same time, the latter is thereby out of the game, since he has nothing more to play with, and the winner has the further right to punish him by giving him a fillip on the forehead.

If, on the other hand, after two repeated casts no grain has entered into a hole, the player has lost his whole share in the food supply to his opponent, is punished by him, and passes out from the game.

If with his two casts a player has won nothing, this is called llambui (nothing, zero). If every grain enters into a hole, all the players call out: llámbui gánan, 'he has won everything!'. The game is continued until there is only one of the players left.

As I have mentioned, the players never intentionally touch that grain which has been placed between the legs of the figure, because it indicates the departed Indian's own share in the foods put out. It some-[473] times happens, however, that a player, when he throws the grains upon the board, accidentally hits the grain lying between the legs of the figure, so that it falls out from the hole. This is looked upon as very unfortunate, since in consequence of the awkward cast the deceased looses his share. The widow and the other relatives, who do not take part in the game but follow it with keen interest, then begin to weep and wail, exclaiming: 'He has taken his share!' It may also happen that at the controlling test, carried out by turning the board round, a player out of carelessness or mere wickedness turns it round so quickly, that not only his own grains, but also that of the deceased fall out of their holes.

I was also told that no one is allowed to fall asleep during the whole night. If someone seems inclined to do so, burning cotton is put close to his eyes to keep him awake.

The whole game is a tribute of honour paid to the departed parent. The latter is supposed to feel flattered by it and will reward his loving relatives for it. He himself takes part in the game, giving good luck to one, bad luck to another. His soul is present in the small board, and when the latter is turned round, at the test, the Indians imagine that thereby the soul is swinging round. When the grains are thrown over the corpse, this is believed to hasten the decay of the body, whereupon the soul, released from its material bonds, will set out upon its wanderings to heaven.

If, as the result of a cast, two of the grains happen to fall into holes situated opposite each other on both sides of the small figure, they form, together with the grain placed between the legs of the figure, a cross. This cast is regarded as a good omen: the soul of the defunct will now soon enter heaven.

Each player may in the morning take the food he has won during the night to his home

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

and eat it alone. Or, if the winners prefer it thus, a common meal is prepared out of the whole quantity of food early in the morning, in which all, both guests and hosts, winners and non-winners, take part."

1; Karsten--473-474 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The *huairitu* game, both the last-mentioned and the one previously described, is not generally played the whole night, because the food put out is distributed as a rule before the morning. The rest of the night is spent in playing another kind of game, *with burning balls of cotton.* Upon the board which was placed on the stomach of the dead Indian a small cotton ball is laid and set on fire. The playing men arrange [474] themselves on both sides of the corpse and blow the burning cotton hither and thither upon the board, keeping the small ball in constant motion. Each player who finds the ball in front of himself immediately blows it to the other side, from where another player blows it in another direction, and so forth. The aim of this game is to nullify all danger of contagion proceeding from the dead body, since it is feared that the disease-demon may carry off other persons among the relatives surviving.(1)

All the Indians have expressly declared to me that the game is by no means played merely for the sake of pleasure or as a pastime, but that it is an absolute duty towards

---

"1. It is worth mentioning that a similar ceremonial game also occurs among the Shimigay Indians of the middle Pastaza. The game is here called *singu*, but the die is conical in shape (se Karsten, *Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians*, p. 26)."

1: Karsten--473-474 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

the deceased. Apart from the details of the game, this moreover appears from the fact, that an omittance to perform this duty--that is, to wake and to play the dice game--is supposed to entail very grave consequences. The Canelos Indians did not even like to show how the huairitu game was played, but only explained it verbally. If the die is cast without necessity, my informant said, someone in the house might die."

1; Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"Those of the Canelos Indians who are related to the Indians of the Napo practise certain other kinds of game which are played at vigils. These games, however, are not dice games, but entertainments of another kind. Although these games are more in vogue among the Napo Indians than among the Indians of Canelos, I shall relate them here.

Four games of this kind came under my observation.

1. The game of blindman's-buff. One of the Indians is blindfolded and represents the dead person. His task is to catch some one of the rest of the party. These run around him, touch him with their hands and play all sorts of trick on him, in order to attract his attention, trying at the same time to avoid him. If the player blindfolded succeeds in catching one of the other men, this one must in his turn take the part of the blindman until he has caught someone else, and so forth, as long as the Indians like to play the game.

2. Playing with burning cotton. The playing men sit down on the ground in a circle round a big cloth or mantle, which is held by all so that it is tightly stretched and somewhat raised above the level of the [475] ground. One or two small cotton balls are set on fire and thrown on the cloth; the burning ball is then blown hither and thither on the cloth by the men holding it. The Indian who finds the burning ball in front of him blows it quickly towards another Indian sitting opposite him, the latter in his turn tries to rid

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

himself of it by blowing it away, and so forth. By keeping the ball in constant motion it is possible to continue the game with the burning cotton for several seconds, without the cloth being burnt. One ball having been consumed by fire, another is kindled and thrown on the cloth, or perhaps two at once, the game being continued until the players get tired of it. --As it will have appeared, the game is about the same as the one already described as taking place in connection with the dice games.

3. The game with the concealed pin. The body of the dead Indian, dressed in his finest clothes, lies on the bier at one side of the room. The game itself consists in a pin or needle being concealed somewhere in the clothes of the defunct, sometimes even in his body, for instance in his feet. One of the playing Indians kneels down in front of the bier on which the corpse is placed and another, standing behind him, holds his hands to the searcher's eyes so that he cannot see. It is now the task of the Indian to find the pin concealed, feeling with his hands all over the clothes of the defunct. As soon as he has found the pin, he must alone empty a gourd of brandy. Thereupon he in his turn conceals the pin in the dress of the defunct, allowing another Indian, who has to kneel down in the same way in front of the corpse, to look for it. As soon as this one has found the pin, he drinks brandy in the same way and conceals the pin for somebody else.

4. Sirasu catuaini huashâma is the name given by the Napo Indians to a fourth game

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

which, as we shall find, is played in much the same way in Europe. The playing men are arranged in a row, one behind the other. An Indian, who represents the dead man, places himself in front of the first man in the row and says in a low voice: sirasu catuaini huashâma, or, generally, only: sirasu catuaini, which means: 'give me the last man from behind', or: 'give me the last one'. The man who said this now tries to catch the Indian standing last in the row, who, for his part, tries to escape him, running either to the right or to the left. His task is to reach the spot in front of the first man before he is caught by the 'Dead Man'. If he succeeds in doing so, the Dead Man must repeat the same with the following Indian from the end, who is now the last one. Again, if the last man (sirasu) is caught before he has succeeded in taking the [476] first place in the row, he must in his turn play the Dead Man, the former Dead Man taking his station as the last one in the row.

The games described above are continued during the whole night and nobody is allowed to fall asleep. Early in the morning, when the game is finished, a curious ceremony takes place. All of the men, who were engaged in the game, start to run about in the room on all fours, barking like dogs and attempting to imitate their movements; they kill all hens which belonged to the deceased, wringing their neck at the spot on which they catch them. A meal is subsequently prepared of the hens killed, in which all, both guests and hosts, men and women, take part.

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

The Indians declare that this meal is a gift of the deceased by which he rewards those of his relatives and friends who have honoured him by the wake and by the food offered to him and have accompanied him on his last journey."

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The ceremonial game after a death among the Napo and Canelos Indians is called aya pugllana, which means 'to play the Dead Man'. This is in accordance with the idea appearing in most of these games, that the departed Indian himself actively takes part in them. Thus, for instance, in the first game it is the dead Indian himself, or more properly speaking, the disease-and death-spirit who is looking for fresh victims among the survivors, who acts the part of the blindman. Similarly, in the fourth game the Indian, who calls out sirasu catuaini and tries to catch the last man in the row, represents the disease-demon. The Indians have the idea that by representing dramatically the way in which the demon catches the survivors they are able to prevent them from being carried off in reality-- a principle underlying numerous games, dances, and other ceremonies of the South American Indians. Thus, for instance, the mask-dances are wholly founded on this idea. The game with the burning cotton is a purification ceremony. The Indians ascribe magic virtues to the cotton itself, and the burning cotton is believed to destroy the disease-contagion (usually personified into a demon) and to protect the survivors against infection. The same idea is equally manifest in the game with the concealed pin. Pointed instruments, like pins and needles, are often used as amulets against evil spirits. The pin is concealed in the very source of the disease, the corpse itself. When the Indians look for it and find it they are, as it were, rendered immune against the disease. The brandy which the Indians have to drink afterwards is

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

one prophylactic more against the feared spirit. The Indians are quite conscious [477] of the meaning of these ceremonies when they say that they play in the way described 'in order not to die away'.

It seems, at the outset, somewhat more difficult to explain the other custom, above described, when the men, imitating dogs, run about on all fours and kill the hens. The Indians have not described it to me in further detail, but I may point out some ideas which most probably underly it. First, it is clear that the men who act in this way are supposed to represent the dead Indian himself. The departed Indian himself must catch and kill the hens which he wants to give to those honouring him, and the Indians seem to fancy that on that occasion he takes the shape of a dog. On this point it may be appropriate to mention an idea prevailing among the Jibaro Indians, according to which, if a departed parent is not duly honoured with offerings of food, he will take revenge, among other ways, by reappearing in the shape of a dog that bites the hens in the house to death. That the souls of the departed may transmigrate into dogs is a common Indian belief which is shared by the Napo and the Canelos Indians also. Consequently, if, as may sometimes happen, the starving dogs bite the hens to death and eat them, the Indians ascribe this to the soul of a departed relative that has taken the shape of a dog. It seems to me most probable that the strange funeral custom just described must be explained in this way.

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Examining more closely the customs described above, we find that all of them are founded on a few definite religious ideas. On the one hand the survivors wish to honour the defunct by the games, inasmuch as they accompany him on his last journey and allow himself to dispose of the most valuable property he left behind, his domestic animals, usually in the expectation, directly expressed, that in return he may reward the survivors by virtue of the supernatural power he possesses. On the other hand, the games have for their object to protect the surviving relatives against the disease- and death-demon, who has carried off one member of the family and is believed to look for more victims among the living. This is an idea which must be explained more closely. In order to understand the funeral customs of primitive peoples it is necessary to distinguish, at any rate theoretically, between two classes of spirits to which the ceremonies have reference: the soul of the defunct, and the evil demon who caused the death of the relative and is regarded as a source of danger to the survivors also. It is a well-known fact that according to the belief of the Indians death-bringing disease depends on an evil spirit who penetrated into the body of the patient. If the demon succeeds [478] in completing his work of destruction in the body, the patient dies. But the disease-demon, having obtained possession of a person and caused his death, will at the same time lay hold of his soul also and change him altogether into an evil demon, whatever may have been his character in life; so that in many cases there is

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

practically no difference between the death-bringing demon and the spirit of the dead. This idea explains a fact which has often been commented upon by students of primitive religion but has never been satisfactorily explained: why persons, who in their lifetime have, perhaps, been honoured and loved are nevertheless after death feared as evil demons who are trying to inflict all sorts of evils upon the surviving relatives. This is due to the supposed fact that the defunct, that is, his soul, has fallen victim to a strange death-bringing demon who is trying to change the soul itself into a demon. The more spiritual power a person possessed in life, the more he is generally feared after death, because the strange demon lays hold of this power. This is the reason why old people and sorcerers are as a rule most feared after death as evil revengeful beings. It is only when we know this idea that we can satisfactorily explain a number of funeral customs and rites of the Indians which seemingly contradict one another.(1)

Although the Indians believe that the disease-and death-demon is trying to identify itself with the soul of the dead person, they still make a distinction between the two

---

"1. On the point, see more fully my Civilization of the South American Indians, pp. 477 sqq."

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

spirits which clearly appears in many of their funeral rites and ceremonies. Thus, of the mourning customs described above, some particularly have reference to the soul of the dead, others again to the death-bringing demon. For instance, when food is placed in front of the corpse and when the dice game is played, the Indians are only thinking of the deceased relative who was loved in life and to whom after his death the due cult is paid. Again, when pepper or tobacco-water is squirted into the eyes of the surviving relatives, when the game of blindman's-buff is played, when the mourners play with pins concealed, with burning cotton balls, or pieces of wood, these rites most clearly have only reference to the evil disease-and death-demon who still is believed to haunt the house and threaten the lives of the survivors. [sic] Their object is to protect the latter against this dangerous spirit, or, as we should say, against the contagion of death; with which the soul of the defunct has involuntarily been associated."

1: Karsten--490 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros have a natural esthetic sense, a fact of which everybody who sees an ethnographic collection from these Indians can convince himself. Their clay vessels attract attention through the almost classical harmony of the lines, and similarly the way in which they combine colours in their feather ornaments, etc., reveals a natural sense of colour."

1: Karsten--490-491 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"The idea that the spirits can be controlled by imitating them in their external appearance, is also conspicuous in the ornamental designs applied to the body and to certain objects, for instance the doors of the houses, shields, and clay vessels. All these designs are borrowed from the animal world, and it is interesting to note that they invariably represent *dangerous* animals, or animals in which evil spirits are thought to appear. How the Indians try to keep off the spirits of the departed or other spirits from their houses by painting their figures on the door, has been shown before (Pl. XVII, 2 and p. 454). The figures appearing on the door are characteristic of the ornamental art of the Jibaros. The most conspicuous of them are human spirits, represented in the usual way with the arms stretched out. The small circles, with [491]a point in the middle are also very common. It took me long to find out the real significance of this pattern, even after I had been informed that it was thought to keep off evil spirits. On inquiry, I was simply told that the small circles represented *yusa*. By the name *yusa* the Indians denote the big macaw (*Arara hyacinthinus*) which is one of their principal bird demons, but there is little resemblance between such a little circle and the beautiful parrot. We get the solution of the riddle when we look at the Indian drawing of a macaw found on Fig. 20, b (p. 494). The Indians paint the *eyes* of the bird separately, and the small circles are precisely identical with the eyes of the macaw. To the Indian mind special importance is attached to them, because in the eyes the

1: Karsten--490-491 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

power of the demoniacal bird is concentrated. Hence the eyes occur as independent magical ornaments in the art of the Indians.

The circle pattern, however, occurs in two forms and has two significations: it not only represents the eye of the macaw but also the round black spots on the skin of the anaconda. Frequently the pattern occurs as two concentric circles with a black spot in the middle (Fig. 20, c). The eyes of the macaw in fact are surrounded by concentric rings; but the pattern may represent the spots of the anaconda as well. What these spots are like in reality, and how faithfully the Indians represent them in their art, will be clear when we compare the cincture made of an anaconda's skin on Pl. XXI, 3 with the patterns engraved on the instrument payánga, depicted on p. 311. Generally the Indians are, in each particular case, able to explain whether the pattern in question represents the magical bird or the huge reptile. As to the patterns engraved on the payánga, for instance, they expressly declared that they represent the spots of the anaconda (pangi), which they also apply to the face, to shields when they are ornamented, and so forth."

1: Karsten--491-492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 825 (1928-29)

"The giant serpent, especially the water boa or anaconda (Eunectes murinus), is one of the animal beings most frequently represented in the ornamental art of the Jibaros, and it is natural to connect this fact with the other fact that it is one of the most dreaded animal demons known to the Indians. Thus the designs painted on the beautiful big clay vessel from Canelos depicted on Pl. XX, 1, represent the giant snake, not however the water boa or anaconda, but the boa constrictor, a comparatively rare reptile in Western Amazonas and much more rarely represented in the Indian art than the water boa. The Canelos Indians call this reptile amárun and use the same name for the orna- [492] ment. Another snake demon, almost equally often represented, is the Lachesis, one of the most common and most venomous snakes in the whole of South America. It occurs as an ornament for instance on the clay dishes on Pls. XVIII, 6., XIX, 1., and XX, 2. and is also applied to the face (Fig. 18, d, p. 493)."

1: Karsten--492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"That the Indians represent the most dreaded animal demons in their ornamental art, applying their figures even to eating and drinking vessels, is a significant fact which suggests that certain mysterious ideas are connected both with the clay vessels and the ornaments. As I have pointed out before, there is an interesting connection between a woman, who alone has to make the the clay vessels, and the earth and clay of which they are made. The clay vessel, according to the idea of the Indians, 'is a woman'. When we further consider the ceremonial character which the drinking of fermented and narcotic drinks assumes at the great feasts, we understand that a whole primitive 'philosophy' underlies both the making of clay vessels and their use."

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 - (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig. 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 531, 789, 302 (1928-29)

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

1: Karsten--496 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"From the specimens of Indian songs I have given in previous chapters and which are sung for instance in connection with agriculture, at the feast of the women, and on other occasions, it has appeared that we can really speak of a lyric poetry of the Indians. Some of the songs are pure prayers, others magical conjurations, others merely spontaneous expressions of sorrow or joy, etc. I was confronted with one of my most difficult tasks in trying to note down these songs. Of those sung at the feast of the women the Jibaros evidently possess a much larger store than would seem to appear from my description of that feast, but those cited by me are in any case the most important and in general representative of the lyric poetry of the Indians. To note down songs of this kind, it is first and foremost necessary to know the language of the Indians perfectly. But besides this, the Jibaro women in their poetry frequently contract words and phrases so as to make them almost unintelligible, especially since they are generally able to recite the verses only singing, which makes the pronunciation of the words still more indistinct. If afterwards I mentioned sundry words to them the meaning of which I had not been able to catch, the woman in most cases could not explain it to me, however correctly I might pronounce it."

1; Karsten--496-497 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"The words and the melody which accompanies them is to the Indian one and the same thing. Both spontaneously proceed from the same sentiment and cannot be separated. In both prayers and conjurations proper this connection is so intimate that the whole song would fail of its effect unless it were recited in the right tune. The very rhythm is supposed to possess some mysterious effect which is regarded as being almost as important as the power inherent in the words. The weight which the Indians attach to the musical side of their poetry from this point of view is intelligible, but at the same time it makes [497] us understand how essentially the latter, precisely on account of its practical aim, differs from the poetry of civilized peoples."

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533 (1928-29)

"Many of the Jibaro prayers and incantations, as I have pointed out before, are the exclusive intellectual property of the women, being particularly sung in connection with agriculture or at the great feasts. The most important of the songs addressed to the Earth-mother have already been cited, but there is a special kind of lyric poetry to which I wish still to call attention. At the great feasts, as I have mentioned before, it is customary, that, after the day's main ceremonies have taken place, the women appear dancing solo at the drinking-bouts, accompanying themselves with chants and songs which are directed to certain animals, especially certain beautiful birds of the forest (See p. 355). Such incantations are also sung at the drinking-bouts on other occasions. Birds addressed in this way are, for instance, the tucan (Rhamphastus), called tsukánga, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea), called sumga, the great wild turkey (Crax elector), called máshu, and the pheasant (Penelope), called kúyu by the Jibaros. The birds are personified by the dancing woman and spoken to as if they were human beings. She gives them all sorts of pet names, calling herself the wife, mother, or sister of the particular bird addressed and praising its brilliant feather dress, its proud walk, etc. Songs of this category are probably comparatively numerous, but they are very simple and all much of the same kind. I shall give a couple of instances.

The cock-of-the-rock (sumga), one of the most beautiful birds of the forests of Western Amazonas, the Jibaro woman addresses in the following way:

I: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
*116*, 533 (1928-29)

*Sumga noa assana,*
*sumga noachina,*
*tu nakúrahei;*
*Sumga aishmangshiru,*
*kapáka paháwue,*
*wisha hahúchi,*
*sumga noa assa,*
*tu nakúrahei.*

In translation:

'Being the wife of the cock-of-the-rock,
being the little wife of the *sumga*,
I jokingly sing to you thus;
Cock-of-the-rock, my little husband,[498]
wearing your many-coloured dress of feathers,
graceful in your movements!
I know I am useless myself,
but still I rejoice,
for I am the wife of the *sumga*--
So I jokingly sing!'

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 533 (1928-29)

To the pheasant (kuyu) the woman sings:

Apu, apu, kuyu,
indeshipi kuyu,
mite, mite hamei,
winya kuyu uchirka,
chapursa nambikahei.
Wisha kuyu tukusmahei,
uhuchiruk hapik amue,
indeshipi kuyu--
tu nakurahei.

In translation:

'Great pheasant, great pheasant,
pheasant with the long hair and the big tail,
my little son, whom I have intoxicated with the beer!
I have made myself like the pheasant,
putting on me your long tail
and dressing myself in your brilliant feathers--
So I jokingly sing.'"

1: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the lyric poetry of the Indians I have yet to mention the incantations sung at one of the minor feasts, the chontaruru-feast. The fruit of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui in the Jibaro language, grows ripe in February and March and is particularly appreciated on account of the beer brewed from it. Besides this, the fruit offers the Indians a most nourishing food for about two months of the year.

The feast is arranged as soon as part of the fruit so impatiently awaited has ripened and beer can be brewed from it. The fruit is collected and carried home by the men, boiled in big clay pots in the same way as is the manioc, and then masticated and well mixed with saliva, whereupon the substance is allowed to ferment. The process of fermentation, which takes place at night, is 'hastened' by dancing, singing, and beating the big drum tundúi. Several big clay vessels (muitsa), the mouths of which are covered with banana leaves, are placed on the floor in the middle of the room. When darkness sets in, about six o'clock in the evening, all men and women arrange themselves in a ring round the clay vessels and start dancing and singing, in their incantations reviewing the whole 'history' of the chonta from the very moment the little sprout is planted in the earth by the men until the time which has now arrived when the tree is full-grown and its fruits have ripened. The dancing and chanting is continued until after midnight. Early in the following morning the drinking-feast begins. While the men drink and get intoxicated by the beer, they incessantly sing the following incantation in which they

l: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

address those quadrupeds and birds which in the animal kingdom most appreciate the chonta fruit, especially a parrot called tuishi, and another bird of the forest called kiruánchama, as well as the wild pig (pakki) which also eagerly eats the fruit that falls down from the chonta palms. They call these animals and birds poetically their 'brothers' and 'brothers-in-law', inviting them to take of the fruit which is now ripe and to prepare chontaruru-beer. Thus, the Indians fancy, the fruit will go on ripening and be abundant.

This incantation runs as follows:

Seiru kiruánchama,
amue ui nikápsata,
ui nikápsata!
Ui nereáwue, ui nereáwue, [500]
ui nereáwue!
Ui natinyu, ui natinyu.
Ityursanki nerecheindya,
nerecheindya, nerecheindya?

In translation:

'Parrot, my brother-in-law,
now come along and take of the chonta,

1: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

come and take of the chonta!
The chonta fruit is ripening, the chonta fruit is ripening!
Up to brew chonta-beer, up to brew chonta-beer!
Why does not the fruit quickly ripen,
Why does it not ripen?'

....

The men not only celebrate the chonta feast by chanting this incantation, but also by beating the big drum tundúi in the particular time that is customary at the Jibaro drinking-feasts and which has been referred to before (p. 111). By beating the drum in this way the Indians invite their ancestral spirits, who were great warriors and medicine-men and are now believed to live in the mountains and hills, to take part in the drinking-feast and to rejoice with their living descendants. These spirits, although in normal cases more feared than loved, now appear as the friends and allies of the Indians, being under the same [501] magical constraint as in the narcotic sleep produced by natéma or maikoa. From this point of view the great drinking-feasts of the Jibaros clearly assume a religious character."

1: Karsten--501
116, 151, 775, 825

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

1: Karsten--501-502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533 (1928-29)

"There is comparatively little to say about the music which accompanies the poetry of the Jibaros.

The rhythm in general is well marked, being emphasized by the accompanying instruments, by the movements of the dancers, by weapons brandished, as in the Enéma war-dance, by feet stamping the ground, etc. The melodic system is evidently based on the scale of seven intervals, as is our own music. This fact, as well as the generally slow and ceremonial time in which the songs are sung, makes it as a rule easy to catch and note down the melodies. The Indians only seem to know our major scale; I never heard them sing in the minor key. Their musical ear appears to be well developed, both men and women keeping to the tune remarkably well.

The melodies of the Jibaros, like those of the South American Indians [502] in general, are simple and as it were fragmentary, and the constant repetition of the same short musical motive forms the whole song. Professor E. M. v. Hornbostel has indicated as characteristic of the music of the American Indians the coordination of many similar musical units joined together 'in the same way as pearls are strung into a necklace'. He also makes another interesting observation, that the same feature appears in their ornamental art, where whole series of similar 'geometric' ornaments frequently follow one another, and he takes this to be characteristic of the whole Indian race.(1) Both

"1. KOCH Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. III. Ethnographie, p. 416."

1: Karsten--501-502
116, 533

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

these observations are certainly true in regard to the Jibaros. To become convinced of this fact we need only consider the melodies above cited, or the ornamental designs applied to the clay vessels illustrating this work. I would add in this connection that the peculiarity of constantly repeating the same simple motive, perhaps with certain small variations, also appears in the ceremonial speeches made at their great feasts and on other occasions."

l: Karsten--502
116, 533, 177, 151

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

1; Karsten--503 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 773 (1928-29)

"The question concerning the origin of the world seems not much to have preoccupied the Jibaro mind. In their mythology they have never sought an answer to the questions, 'Who has created heaven and earth?'. or 'How have they originated?' To the Jibaros it is quite natural that the world has always existed, as also the race of men which they call shuara. The only thing which has interested them is the origin of the very Jibaro culture in its most important aspects, and these questions are dealt with in some of the myths. From some of these, and from their religious ideas stated before, we also gather what ideas they have about the celestial world and certain phenomena of nature."

l; Karsten--503-504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 772, 821 (1928-29)

"Heaven is for them an immense solid vault which rests on the earth. A Jibaro myth tells us that formerly there was much communication between the heaven and the earth, people ascending to the sky along a long liana hanging from the vault and again descending to the earth. Even the heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are regarded as 'people' (eintsu) by the Jibaros, have originally lived on the earth, but at a certain epoch went up to the sky where they have remained ever since. The stars, as far as I can see, have not particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros, and seem not to play any part [504] in their calendar. Almost the only star which appears in their mythology is the planet Venus, called Yanguái. The general name for 'star' in the Jibaro language is ya."

l; Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 805, 821 (1928-29)

"Time is reckoned mainly after the sun and the moon. Great attention is paid to the new moon which is supposed to have a mysterious influence in promoting both natural processes and human undertakings. Thus we have seen the [sic] the new moon is believed to cause the menstruation of the women and to influence the development of the foetus in the mother's womb. The 'dying' moon, on the other hand, has the effect of making everything decrease and die out.

As to longer periods, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians also speak of 'years', but this division of time is not founded on astronomic calculations but on other kinds of observation. A 'year' in the Quichua language is chunta. This is the name of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), the fruit of which begins to ripen in the month of February. This to the Indians is so important an incident that they reckon the beginning of the year from that time. Similarly the Jibaro Indians have adopted the same Quichua word (chunta) for denoting a year."

1: Karsten--504 [2]  (1916-18) 1935  Jivaro
116, 821  (1928-29)

"The ideas that the Indians entertain about meteorological phenomena such as thunder and lightning, falling stars and comets, hurricanes, etc. have appeared from the account I have given of their religion. We have also seen that a supernatural origin is ascribed to certain minerals, for instance 'lightning-stones' which are believed to have been hurled down from the heavens by ancestral spirits, lava stones thrown out from volcanoes, and especially to mountain crystals which are looked upon as proceeding from the devil-souls of departed wizards living in the mountains. Crystals are consequently reckoned among the most potent magical 'arrows' used by living sorcerers."

1: Karsten--504-505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 823, 153 (1928-29)

"Whereas the astronomy, meteorology, and mineralogy of the Jibaros is thus to a great extent mixed up with superstition, their geographical knowledge is also very limited. They practically only know about the territory inhabited by the Jibaro tribes, and have most confused ideas about other parts of the South American continent, and still more of course about the world outside it. They know that there are other Indian tribes, in language and customs differing from the Jibaro people, but they interest them less even as enemies. They also distinguish the Indian race as a whole from the white race, but not even this distinction is a radical one. According to their idea even the whites have once been Jibaros; they are therefore called apachi, i. e. forefathers. There [505]is properly only one human race, namely, the Jibaro race. It is characteristic in this respect that the Jibaros asked me whether in my country also there are 'Indians' (shuara). They also asked me whether in my country there are equally big forests and rivers, and the same animals as in theirs. It was impossible for me to give the Indians a right conception about an ocean and the enormous distance which separates Europe from the New World."

1: Karsten--505
116, 173, 823

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Although the Indians have a few traditions, these traditions seem not to reach far back in history. What they know about the past, bears a strongly mythical character. The present-day Jibaros of the Upano and Santiago know for instance nothing about the big towns or villages, Sevilla de Oro, Logroño, and Mendoza, which some three hundred years ago were situated in their own land and which they themselves destroyed. They know that in former times they have carried on many wars with the whites and that the latter are, as it were, their hereditary enemies, but their real historical traditions hardly go back more than three or four generations in time."

1: Karsten--505-506 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 262 (1928-29)

"With more reason we can speak of Indian Science when we enter the domain of their knowledge concerning animals and plants. This is a department of nature where that wonderful power of observation best shows itself which everywhere is one of the chief mental characteristics of man in his natural state. Life has here been the master of the Indians; it is the struggle for existence that has compelled them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the habits and qualities of different animal beings and the properties of plants. The whole of nature has been carefully scrutinized by them for the purpose of finding out what it can offer man in the way of food. They have tried everything, and they can unfailingly tell you whether for instance a certain animal or bird can be eaten, and how it affects the health. Nor is there any animal being so insignificant that it has not a native name; any boy can tell you the name of that or that small insect crawling on the ground. Their ideas as to which animals are edible and which not are, [sic] however, in some cases peculiar; in this respect they have sometimes been led astray by their superstitions. Thus when deer's flesh is never eaten because the deer is regarded as an evil demon, it is difficult to find any real foundation for this aversion. In most cases, however, the superstitions of the Indians have an underlying stratum of reality. 'Superstitious' ideas are as a rule entertained of such animal beings as are in some way harmful. Thus when the flesh of the tapir is taboo as food in the same way

1: Karsten--505-506 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 153, 262 (1928-29)

as [506] that of the deer, this bias is not wholly without foundation, considering that the eating of the flesh of the tapir may in some cases have harmful effects. Even the whites in Eastern Ecuador assert that uncautious eating of it may cause a sort of fever. The same hold true of the flesh of many other animals and of certain fish. That for instance the fat flesh of the domestic swine and of certain other animals may cause indigestion and other kinds of sickness, is a well-known fact which has by no means escaped the Indians. We can thus easily understand why swine's flesh is regularly taboo as food when the Indian man or woman is, or is believed to be, in some critical condition. Taking native customs as a whole into account, I should say that what we call 'superstition' has to a great extent been the teacher of the Indians and, being founded on actual experience, given them valuable guidance in their practical life, although on the other hand the exaggerations to which it has led are obvious. The same will appear to hold true of their medicines."

l: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

"The pharmacological knowledge of the Indians is wonderful. I have had an opportunity to point out this with particular reference to their arrow-poison, but it is equally conspicuous in regard to their medical art in which plants play a dominant part. A whole book could be written about the Indian plant medicines, but unfortunately of this subject the same must be said as I have stated of the plants from which the arrow-poison is prepared: the material necessary for treating this subject can properly be collected only by a botanist. European medical science owes several useful plants to the Indians of South America, but those hitherto known only form a fractional part of those actually existing. I therefore wish to emphasize once more the importance of this particular subject being studied by experts in pharmacology and botany. Expeditions sent out for this purpose to the upper Amazonas regions are almost sure to achieve results of great value.

Of the numerous plant medicines of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians several have already been mentioned by me in previous chapters. I beg only to draw attention for instance to the various medicines which, in the latter tribe, both the father and mother of a newborn child have to take, partly to purify themselves, partly to fortify and strengthen the babe. To avoid repeating statements made before, I shall only mention a few other medicines which are commonly used and which throw some light upon the medical art of the Indians. I remark that these medicines, most of which are obtained

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

from the plant world, are a commune bonum to all Indians tribes on the upper Amazon river. The names of [507]the plants are given partly in the Jibaro language, partly in Quichua. For some plants or medicines the Canelos Indians use Spanish names.

Several plant medicines are used as remedies against fevers. One of these is the aya huasca (natéma), which we already know as an important narcotic producing visions and hallucinations. Beside this, the Canelos Indians assert that the medicine is an efficacious remedy for malarial fever, especially when mixed with a little tobacco water, and this assertion is confirmed by the white settlers in Eastern Ecuador who frequently use it in such cases.

Another remedy for fever is prepared from a Verbena species, called yapáu by the Jibaros. The leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction taken as a medicine. Exactly in the same way the Indians use another plant, a Cyathula species of the family Amaranthaceae.(1) Sometimes decoctions of both plants are mixed, by which the efficacy of the medicine is enhanced. It is also said to be a remedy against tape-worm. The Cyathula species is by the Canelos Indians called iskantsēli, by the

---

"1. I am obliged to Dr. H. Lindberg in Helsingfors for the botanical determination of the Verbena and the Cyanthula species."

1; Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

Jibaros kántsea. The latter Indians, when using the kántsea-leaves, are also in the habit of mixing the decoction with the white of one or two eggs beaten up as well as with some mountain salt (catchi).

Quinine bark, cascarilla, which is to be obtained in the forests of Eastern Ecuador, is used by the Canelos Indians as another remedy for malaria. An extract is made of some pieces of bark, which is mixed with brandy. Both the Indians and the settlers assert that taken together with brandy the cascarilla extract is much more efficacious.

The cinnamon bark and the cinnamon flower (ishpingu) is at Canelos used as a remedy for diarrhoea and pains in the stomach. A decoction is made of some pieces of the bark or some flowers and the medicine is drunk.

The shrub called tzigta in Quichua has been mentioned as a plant which yields one of the poisonous ingredients by which an old and useless arrow-poison is made efficacious again (p. 155). Of this plant, which I have not been able to identify botanically, there seems however to exist various species of which some are only slightly poisonous and used as ordinary medicines. A quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, and the decoction is taken by the Canelos Indians as a remedy, especially for catarrh and head-ache. It is in fact one of the medicines most commonly used by them.

Another medical plant of the same Indians is the one called pata-[508] cunyúyu. The

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction, mixed with some salt, is taken as a vomitory.

The small plant called yerba Luisa is used both by the white settlers and the Canelos Indians as a remedy for chills. A decoction is made of the leaves for the purpose and taken by the patient as hot as possible. The medicine is also good for pains in the stomach, especially mixed with some soda.

Ambára is the name of a small plant which is used by the Jibaros for the cure of dysentery. The roots are boiled for the purpose for a long while and the decoction taken as a medicine which has purging effects. It also acts as a vomitory.

Jaundice is cured by the Jibaros by a medicine prepared from the bark of the cedar (Cedrela herrerae). One part of the bark in two parts of water is boiled for one hour. A quantity of this decoction, about one drinking glass, is taken every morning on an empty stomach and will in a few days cure the patient.

Emetics in general play an important role in the medical art of the Indians, as appeared from descriptions of ceremonies performed at feasts, etc. Thus the aya huasca, the guayusa solution, and the medicine prepared from the root chiki at the feasts of the women, all have the effect of vomitories by which the organism is purified from harmful substances. An important emetic of the Jibaros is their own native salt (whui), which is never used as a spice but appreciated all the more as a medicine. These

Indians make a distinction between the salt which they prepare themselves by boiling, and the salt which they obtain in the way of barter from the Canelos Indians and which is called by its Quichua name catchi. This salt too is used exclusively for certain medical purposes, but not as an emetic.

Just as the Indians appreciate emetics, they appreciate medicines with purging effects. Such a medicine is for instance the ambára, mentioned above, by which the Indians cure dysentery. Other strong medicines of this kind are used as a cure for tape-worms.

The stomach and intestinal canal of small children is purified by means of a decoction of ferns, which is taken as an ordinary medicine. In other cases the Indians prepare a clyster for the same purpose. A clyster which came under my notice among the Jibaros consisted of a decoction of four different plants all of which are cultivated by the Indians: the first was the plant kántsea, mentioned before; the second the leaves of a plant called mapash; the third a kind of grass called chiri-[509]chiri; and the fourth a small plant called púyu. This strong medicine was injected into the rectum of the child by means of an enema-syringe consisting of a hen's bladder attached to a piece of the stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus) which is hollow. Syringes of this kind are commonly used by the Indians. Dysentery and diarrhoea in children are generally cured in this way.

Grown-up people are in some cases cured by another kind of clyster consisting simply

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

of a solution of Indian pepper (Capsicum). By such a clyster the Indians for instance try to cure patients from the consequences of snake's bite (p.420). The Indians of the Pastaza have recourse to this remedy especially against the scurvy (escorbuto) which at times makes it [sic] appearance in that unhealthy region, assuming an epidemical character. The Indians of Canelos do not use a clyster in the proper sense of the word, but mix certain strong ingredients, gun powder, Indian pepper, mashed pieces of the ginger root, and the root of a third strong plant called botoncillo in Spanish. A piece of cotton-wool is soaked in these strong medicines and introduced into the anus of the patient for a short while; he could not stand it for long. According to the idea of the Indians, this disease is due to the anus of the patient being attacked by certain worms which will rise higher and higher along the intestinal canal and rapidly cause the patient to rot away. If the remedy is applied at once, the worms will be killed by the strong medicines and the patient may be saved. I heard of several cases on the Pastaza when Indians and white settlers had been cured in this way from ths [sic] terrible malady, which generally leads to death in two or three days.--That a clyster consisting of a solution of Indian pepper really has disinfecting and purifying effects, is beyond doubt.

There are also, of course, plant medicines which are believed to have the effect of healing wounds. Of this kind is for instance the resin or balsam called copaiba and obtained from the Copaifera tree. The wound is washed clean and the balsam is

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

dropped on it. The copaiba is also used as a remedy for the gonorrhea."

1: Karsten--509-510
116, 757

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"These are only some of the most important plant medicines used by the Indians. But although they have no doubt made important discoveries in this domain and possess actual knowledge of valuable remedies, I on the other hand have no high opinion of their ability to use these remedies. Their practical therapeutics leave much to be desired. The many stories current among white settlers about miraculous cures of Indian medicine-men in my opinion ought to be accepted with [510] some scepticism, although I do not of course deny that in some cases they may have achieved remarkable results. The development of the medical art of the Indians has been too much hampered by their superstitions and other peculiarities characteristic of a primitive mind. There may exist really skilled healers among the Indians, but they are in any case very scarce. The average Indian can only with difficulty be persuaded to subject himself to a lengthy and systematic treatment for a disease. A medicine ought to cure at once, otherwise it is of no avail. Very frequently, as I found during my travels, the Indians could not even make up their mind to use the remedies they possessed, or they simply did not understand how to use them. As to my own remedies, powders, pills, etc., the Indians regarded them as powerful 'medicines' and poisons, and when I showed them they generally asked for them, but it was well nigh impossible to make them take for instance a tablet or a pill; they might die on the spot. But they carefully kept them somewhere in the house, evidently believing that their mere presence there would be sufficient to

1: Karsten--509-510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 757 (1928-29)

effect a cure.

The natural apathy and fatalism of the Indians also proves an obstacle to rational therapeutics. If the medicine-men declare that they are not able to cure the patient, or if otherwise he himself and his relatives get the idea that his last hour has come, they give up any attendance and only wait for his death, although there may be no real danger of his life."

1: Karsten--510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 751, 515 (1928-29)

"....Indian hygiene is very defective, although it is evident that these children of nature generally have much more resistance against infecting microbes than a white man. In certain other respects, on the other hand, they give evidence of a natural hygiene which may serve even civilized people as an example. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, like all forest Indians in the Amazon region, are cleanly. Thus both men, women, and children take a bath every day in the little river on the banks of which their home is situated, but frequently they bathe twice a day. All dirt and waste is carefully removed from the house by daily sweeping, nor are any dirt or refuse heaps tolerated in the neighbourhood of it. Superstition itself has in some cases tended to develop the hygienic sense of the Indians. On this point I beg to refer to the fact that after a death all those clothes, eating plates, etc., which have been in intimate contact with the defunct are destroyed by burning and that, in the case of an epidemic, the whole village is destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants."

1; Karsten--513 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173 (1928-29)

"The myths which I shall relate in this part of my book were noted down by me among the Indians of the Upano, Santiago and upper Pastaza. Later inquiries have convinced me that they are also current --although partly in somewhat different versions--among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza and among the Aguarunas, and they may therefore be said to be the common intellectual property of all Jibaro tribes in Ecuador and Peru. Nearly all of them are cultural myths, i.e. they try to give an explanation of the origin of the culture of the Jibaro race in some of its aspects. I do not think that other myths of this category exist; on the other hand, these related here are known to the majority of the older members of all tribes. Nor have I, in spite of repeated inquiries, found any other kinds of myth. If such exist they are, at any rate, not commonly known; only a few of the older men may, perhaps, have knowledge of them. The myths here related are of special importance as throwing an interesting light upon many customs and religious ideas of the Indians. In fact, without knowing for instance the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi it would be impossible to understand an essential side of the culture of the Jibaros. Similarly, the myth concerning the first Tsantsa-feast of the Jibaros--at a time when they still had animal shape--will give us a good idea of the way in which their wars are carried on and their victory-feasts celebrated."

1; Karsten--513-516 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruit which they cultivate to-day, nor did they possess the art of hunting the animals and birds of the wood with lances and blowguns. [514]

In those days there lived a Jibaro woman whose name was Ungucha. She only had a field of tumba (1), but no other kind of plantation.

And Ungucha said to the tumba: 'Why should I plant and tend thee, useless tree, which dost not give me any fruit? Where can I get manioc, plantain, and other fruits to eat?'

One day Ungucha found some manioc shells on the river bank. She went down along the bank looking for the manioc and at last came to an open place where there were a number of large áha (plantations). Here Ungucha met the Jibaro woman Nungüi and

---

"1. Tumba is a wild forest plant with large leaves which much resemble the leaves of the plantain, but it gives no edible fruit. The Jibaros say that the plantain is descended from the tumba and therefore call it 'the son of the tumba' (tumba uchiru)."

1: Karsten--513-516 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 (1928-29)

said to her: 'Give me manioc and plantain to eat.' Nungüi answered: 'That I cannot give you, but instead of food take this little girl who is my daughter.' Ungucha took the girl, went off, and made a shelter in which she placed the girl. Then she said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari múitsa a, What clay vessel (for manioc-beer) is there?' The girl repeated: wari múitsa a, and at once there appeared a large clay pot of the kind the Jibaros use for manioc-beer. Ungucha again said to the girl: wari nihamánchi a, 'What manioc-beer is there?' The girl repeated: wari nihamánchi a, and instantly the clay pot was filled with manioc substance for making beer. Ungucha again said: 'Repeat these words: wari michaka a, What mashed earth-nuts are there?' The girl repeated: wari michaka a, and instantly there was a clay pot filled with mashed earth-nuts.

Ungucha now took the daughter of Nungüi and went out in the forest outside the hut and said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari áha a, 'What fields are there?' The girl repeated: wari áha a, and at once there appeared before them large flourishing plantations of plantain, manioc, sweet potatoes, maize, sanahoria, beans, earth-nuts, etc., in short, all the different kinds of fruit and roots which the Jibaros cultivate to-day.

Ungucha again said to the girl: Repeat these words: wari kúndinyaka a, 'What game there is?' The girl repeated: wari kúndinyaka a, and at the same moment there was before them a great quantity of flesh of the different animals and birds that the Jibaros nowadays hunt, flesh of the wild hog, of the paca, of the agouti, of all sorts of monkey, of the tucan, of the paugi, of the wild turkey, of the parrot, etc. And Unguchа began to name all these animals and birds which thus came to her, and [515] whenever she wanted a special kind of animal or bird she asked the girl to mention the name of that animal or bird.

She said, for instance:

Wari pakki a, 'Where is the peccary pig?'
Wari kayúka a, 'Where is the agouti' (a rodent)?
Wari yákuma a, 'Where is the red howling monkey?'
Wari washi a, 'Where is the black monkey?'
Wari kávashu a, 'Where is the green parrot?'
Wari máshu a, 'Where is the paugi?'
Wari kúyu a, 'Where is the wild turkey?'
and so on.

The flesh of all these animals and birds, however, always came to Unguchа in a ready prepared and dried state and the heads of them never came to her. And Unguchа said to the girl: 'Why do not you give me the heads, I want the heads also!' But the girl could not give her the heads. Unguchа got angry, took some ashes from the hearth, rubbed the eyes of the girl with them and said to the girl: 'Give me a head, I want a head!' In the same moment the girl was veiled in dense smoke and disappeared into the interior of the earth. There the daughter of Nungüi has remained with her mother ever since. But since that time the Jibaros have known all those fruits and plants which they cultivate to-day, although they obtain them only with arduous work. Since the time of Nungüi they have also known those animals and birds of the forest which they still hunt.

According to another version the end of the myth, which tells us how the daughter of Nungüi disappeared, runs as follows:

Unguch had a son who sat in the house at the fire-place. This youth was bad, and he got angry because the daughter of Nungüi had come to the house. He said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari iguánchi a, What demons are there? Let us see whether you can summon them also.' The daughter of Nungüi repeated: wari iguánchi a, and instantly the demons appeared who are now tormenting mankind. Ungucha's son again said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari kaunchi a, What rotten things are there? I want to see whether you can summon such things also.' The girl repeated: wari kaunchi a, and instantly a disagreeable rotten smell was in the house.

Now the son of Ungucha said: 'We have in this house a bad girl who summons all sorts of evil things. Why should we keep her here? Let us turn her out from the house.' And he took ashes from the fire-[516]place and threw them upon the girl. The daughter of Nungüi began to weep and said: 'Why should I stay here? I will go back to my mother

1: Karsten--513-516 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 539 (1928-29)

under the earth.' And the girl went out to the plantation outside the house and here she suddenly disappeared under the earth in smoke.

Now the Jibaros would again have suffered from famine after the daughter of Nungüi had left them. But the fields were already made, the manioc sticks had been planted, and the seeds had been sown. The fruits thus grew by themselves in due time.

Note. In this myth we find a theme which frequently appears in primitive cultural myths, namely, divine goodness and the ingratitude of man. The Jibaro women still have a very vivid consciousness of their indebtedness to the great Earth-mother, the invisible donor of all good things. They speak of Nungüi as a divine being still really existing, and we already know the devout worship which is paid to her on certain occasions, especially in sowing the fields and at the 'feast of the women.'"

1: Karsten--516-518
116, 539

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"I give this myth in the Jibaro language, with interlineal translation.
Yountsu unta hī atsúmasa whuétta shuāra eini tsukáppi
In primitive times, fire not existing, ancient Jibaros under the arms
tsuira hásma nu yúoma. Tákkea hī ríntinyu. Ni Tákkea noa
(the food) made tender, ate it. Takkea alone fire possessed. Takkea's wife
áhana wui, wakítka himbui weinikama. Tura,
going to the plantation and returning a humming-bird saw. Thereupon
hukīma, tánguchi nahána, hīna anáru huhúrtitsa.
she took him (home), tame to make him, at the fire placed him to dry him.
Huhúrma sīri hīna huáku ákasa
Having got dry, he shook his wings, took of the fire, having caught it
uhúki. Tura numa áka ikyúkma. Noa
with his tail. Thereupon in a tree, which caught fire, he left it. A woman,
áha wini tu weinika hukima. Hi ikyámsata,
returning from the plantation, seeing it thus, took it with her. 'Light the fire',
timya, yamai hī wéinikahei. Yurúma awita painikatârum
she said, 'now fire I have found. Place the pots (on the fire) to cook the food,
pīngera yúotinyu.
so that we may eat nicely.'[517]

1: Karsten--516-518 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 (1928-29)

Another Jibaro Indian related the same myth to me with more detail in the following way:

In ancient times the Jibaros did not know the use of fire. In those times, in preparing the food, they were in the habit of warming the flesh and making it tender by keeping it under the arms, and the manioc they made 'ripe' by keeping it under the chin. Eggs were boiled by burying them in the sand and exposing them to the sun.

The only one who possessed fire was a Jibaro by the name Takkea. He had learned to make fire by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other. But he was an enemy of the other Jibaros and did not like to give it to them, nor teach them how to make it. Many Jibaros (who in those times had the shape of animals and birds) came flying and tried to steal fire from the house of Takkea, but they were not able to do it. Takkea kept the door of his house a little open, and when the birds came he killed them, squeezing them to death between the door and the post, and ate them.

Lastly the humming-bird, himbui, said to the rest: 'All right, I will steal fire from Takkea's house. The humming-bird wet his wings and placed himself in the middle of the way, pretending to be unable to fly and trembling as if he felt cold. The wife of Takkea, returning from the fields, saw the humming-bird, and took him to her house with the intention of drying him and taming him. After a while the humming-bird, having got half dry, shook his wings and tried to raise himself for flight, but he could not.

1: Karsten--516-518
116, 539

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

Takkea's wife again took him and placed him beside the fire. Soon the humming-bird was perfectly dry and prepared himself to steal some fire. Since he could not carry away a whole fire-brand he took the fire with his tail, allowing the feathers to catch fire and flew away from the house. He flew up into a high tree with very dry bark, which the Jibaros call mukúna. The bark caught fire and the humming-bird carried away a little of this bark, taking it to a house. 'Here you have fire', he shouted to the rest, 'light your fire from it at once, all of you may take of it, now you will be able to cook your food nicely. You need no longer make your food ripe by keeping it under the arms.'

When Takkea saw that the humming-bird had fled with fire he got very angry and began to reproach his people. 'Why have you allowed that bird to enter the house and steal fire. From now on everybody will have fire and that is your fault.'

From that time onwards the Jibaros have possessed fire. They have [518] also learnt how to make fire afresh by rubbing two wooden pieces of the 'cotton tree' (urúchi numi) against each other.

Note. As I have pointed out before, this cotton tree is not identical with the cotton tree that the Jibaros cultivate at present. The urúchi numi which according to the myth was formerly used for producing fire was another tree, nowadays only known by name. Formerly the Jibaros also used the wood of another tree, called ipyáknumi, for the purpose."

1: Karsten--518-519 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"Salt was, in ancient times, a man named *Whui*. Whui went out seeking a place where he could settle down and live, singing: *tui puhústai*, *tui puhústai*, 'Where shall I settle, where shall I settle?' Lastly he came to the region where the river Curi-Curi unites its waters with those of the river Mangosiza. This was a place where Whui wanted to stay and he sang: *Mangosizai*, *Curi-Curi*, *pangia*, *pangia puhústai*, *i.e.*, 'At Mangosiza, at Curi-Curi, there I will stay, (flying like a butterfly) with fluttering wings.' Ever since that time Whui has lived at Mangosiza, where there is still the salt spring. By Whui having urinated, a little of the salt has also been spread to certain other parts outside the Mangosiza. The salt is the urine of Whui. (1)

According to another myth the Jibaros discovered salt in the following way.

Very long ago, at a time when the Jibaros had already existed some time upon the earth, a Jibaro named Whui married a girl and lived with her in a house. Whui had much affection for his wife and brought her every day game and other gifts. One day

---

"1. The butterfly (*wambishku*) according to the idea of the Jibaros is a 'soul' (*wakáni*), and it is associated with the salt springs because butterflies have a great liking for salt water and are seen constantly flying over the spring. When boiling salt the Jibaros are in the habit of singing incantations to the butterflies."

1: Karsten--518-519 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 (1928-29)

he came from the forest with a small clay pot (yukúnda) full of salt, which he gave his wife. He brought her salt in this way several days, and he likewise began to present salt to his other relatives, but they did not know from where he brought it and how he prepared it. The only thing they knew was that he always took his way into the forest and returned late in the afternoon with the salt. [519]

A Jibaro woman who was curious to know from where he obtained the salt said to herself: 'I will go after him secretly to find out from where he takes the salt.' One day when Whui went to the forest she followed him without his knowing it. She saw him arrive at a shelter where he began to urinate into a clay pot which was placed at the fire, his wife standing close by looking at it and laughing. The woman wished to surprise him and suddenly rushed forth with an exclamation. 'Why do you go secretly in this way', she said to Whui, 'and do not let us others know how you prepare the salt?' Whui was ashamed because he had allowed himself to be surprised, and because a woman had seen him urinating. Ayu, ayu, máketi, máketi, he said 'it is all right, it is all right.' But he thought to himself: 'I will make an end of all my tribesmen, who will now get to know how I obtain the salt'. Thereupon Whui made a big feast and invited all his tribesmen from the whole neighbourhood to it. When all were assembled Whui closed the doors of the house so that no one was able to escape. Then, suddenly, the earth opened and all those who were in the house, the guests, Whui himself and his wife and

1: Karsten--518-519 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 539 (1928-29)

children, his swine, hens, and dogs, sank down into it. There all those people have lived ever since.

But those who, during early times, came there to seek salt and dug in the earth could hear, from the interior of it, the voices of those people that Whui had caused to fall into it, the voices of men and women conversing and laughing, of dogs barking, and of cocks crowing. Later, however, this subterranean dwelling-place was destroyed by people who sought salt, and to-day one no longer hears such voices from the interior of the earth. But the salt which the Jibaros still obtain from the salt spring and prepare by boiling the salt water is the urine of Whui, who buried himself there with the other Jibaros."

1: Karsten--519-520 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The sun, *etsa*, and the moon, *nántu*, were in ancient times people (Jibaros) and lived here on the earth in the same house, and had the same wife. The latter was a bird, the goat-sucker (*Caprimulgus*), called *Aōho* by the Jibaros. Sometimes the sun was with Aōho, sometimes the moon was with her. When the sun embraced Aōho he was very warm, and the woman liked it. On the other hand, when the moon embraced Aōho [520] he was very cold and Aōho did not like it. 'You are very cold', she said to the moon, 'I do not like you.' The sun made fun of the moon and said to him: 'Why are you so cold? I am very warm and therefore the woman likes me.' The moon got angry at this and went up to the sky (*nayéimbi*), climbing along a liana. At the same time he blew upon the sun so that he became eclipsed for a moment and was not visible. The woman, who believed that she had been left alone, said: 'Why should I remain here alone? I will also go up to the sky.' The woman consequently started to climb after the moon along the same liana. She carried with her a basket full of clay (*núi*), of the kind the Jibaro women use when they make their clay vessels. Aōho was already near the sky when the moon noticed that she followed him. 'Why do you follow me?' he said to the woman. 'I do not like to have you any longer'. The moon struck the liana so that it broke and the woman fell to the ground with the basket of clay which she carried. The clay was scattered, and wherever some of it fell, clay is still found.

Aōho thus remained on the earth and was changed into the bird bearing that name.

1: Karsten--519-520 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 (1928-29)

Her doleful voice is still heard at every new moon when she calls to her husband who abandoned her.

Later on the sun also went up to the sky climbing along another liana, but even there, the moon is obliged to flee continuously from the sun, running over the mountains and forests. They can never march together and never can they be reconciled. Hence the sun is only visible in the day, and the moon only appears at night.

If the sun and the moon, instead of quarrelling for possession of the woman, had been able to agree as to having her in common, then among the Jibaros also two men would now be able to have one woman in common. But since the sun and the moon were jealous of each other and engaged in controversy about the woman, the Jibaros are still jealous of one another and fight for possession of the women.

But the clay, of which the women make the clay vessels for the feasts has its origin in the woman Aōho, having emanated from her soul, and wherever this clay is now found it has been scattered by the woman Aōho, who was afterwards changed into the bird of that name."

1; Karsten--521 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the moon lived on the earth, having the goatsucker Aōho, for his wife. But the moon and Aōho did not live well together and were always quarrelling. One day the moon said to Aōho: 'Prepare for me some pumpkin so that I can eat it when I return from work in the afternoon.' The moon went off and Aōho cooked the pumpkin, but having done so she ate the pieces herself and left the smallest and poorest for her husband. When the moon returned in the evening, Aōho brought him the pumpkin in a pininga. The moon, noting the meanness of his wife, said to her: 'Why do you bring me these useless pieces of pumpkin? Who has eaten the best pieces? You have certainly done it.' Aōho answered: 'I have not done it, look at my mouth, if I had eaten the pumpkin my lips would still be wet.' The moon said: 'Since you take care of me so badly, I go away up to the sky and leave you alone here.' And the moon began to climb up to the sky along a big liana. When Aōho saw that the moon had left her she decided to follow him, climbing along the same liana and carrying with her a basket with pumpkin to prepare it for her husband. When Aōho was already near the sky, the moon gave the liana a blow so that it broke and Aōho fell to the earth. When she fell, all the pumpkins which she had in the basket were spread on the ground and wherever a pumpkin fell it began to grow. Ever since that time the Jibaros have known and cultivated the pumpkin.

But Aōho still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird which has the same name, and

l; karsten--521
116, 539

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

she still wails on account of the loss of her husband. At every new moon she calls to him, singing with a mournful voice: aíshiru, aíshiru, úruka winya hapáma, 'My husband, my husband, why have you abandoned me?'

Note. The goatsucker (Caprimulgus) is a bird which particularly attracts the attention of a traveller in the forests of Western Amazonas because of its peculiar, mournful song which is especially heard at night when the new moon appears. This song could be expected to strike the imagination of primitive peoples."

1: Karsten--522
116, 539

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The goatsucker (sacha anga) in ancient times lived on the earth as a woman and had the moon, which in those days lived also on the earth and was a man, for her lover. The moon came on a visit to Anga every night and slept with her, but she did not know who he was, and the moon did not reveal it to her. In order to recognize him, Anga one night blackened the cheeks of the moon with huituc (Genipa americana). The moon tried to wash the black spots from his cheeks, but when he could not do it he was ashamed and left the earth and the woman for ever, climbing up to the sky along a long and broad liana. Even to-day the black spots are still visible on the moon's face, as everybody can see. But Anga, who was left alone, grieved bitterly at the loss of her lover. She still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird, the goatsucker, and at every new moon her wailing notes are heard, the same notes in which the Indian women lament over their dead husbands: Nyuca curilla, nyuca cusalla, imamant' hichúscani, imata tucúshcani, i.e. 'my little husband, my dear one, why have you abandoned me, what will become of me?'"

1: Karsten--522-523 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The sun (etsa) in ancient times was a Jibaro Indian and a great hunter. He was the first who used the five kinds of arrow which the Jibaros still use for their blowguns, shooting with those made of the five different kinds of palm--ináyu, tindúki, kungúki, koágshi, and mamatsinsáka --of the wood of which they must be made to be strong and good.

The sun sent the fox (kuhánchama) to try the new arrows and said to him 'Go and shoot with the arrows at the black monkeys which eat so much fruit in the trees.' The fox went off and started to shoot at the monkeys with the different kinds of arrow. First he shot with an arrow made of the ináyu palm but missed, and the arrow flew far away to another part of the country. On the spot where it fell there grew later on an ináyu palm. But since the arrow went so far, the ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) does not now grow in the land of the Jibaros; they are obliged to buy it from other Indians. The fox thereupon shot [523]with an arrow made of the tindúki palm, but missed again, the arrow flying over the monkeys. On the place where the arrow fell there grew a tindúki palm. Then the fox shot with a kungúki arrow, but again missed, and where the arrow fell there grew a kungúki palm. The fox then shot with an arrow made of the koágshi palm, but missed as before and on the spot where the arrow fell there grew a koágshi palm. Lastly the fox shot with a mamatsinsáka arrow, but even then he missed. The arrow flew high over the monkeys and fell to the ground so far from the land inhabited

1: Karsten--522-523 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 ( 1928-29)

by the Jibaros that they do not even know where it was, and at that place there grew later a mamatsinsáka palm; but this palm the Jibaros only know by name.

When the fox returned the sun asked him: 'Now, have you brought down any of the black monkeys which eat so much fruit?' 'No', answered the fox, lying to the sun, 'I have not seen any monkeys at all, they have not come to eat the fruit.' The sun, seeing that the fox told him lies, grasped him by the neck and poured some tobacco water into his mouth. The fox began to vomit and threw up a quantity of seeds which the monkeys had shaken down from the trees. The sun said to the fox: 'Because you have told me lies you will hereafter go starving like a woman who is alone in the kitchen (ekínturu). (1) If you had shot the monkeys with your arrows, even the women would have been able to bring down the animals of the wood with blowguns and poisoned arrows.'

If the fox, instead of missing the monkeys with the five arrows, had shot one monkey with each of them, the Jibaros would now be able, when they go out hunting, to bring down one animal with every arrow they shoot, and thus they would only lose a small number of arrows during their life time. But since the fox missed, the Jibaro men too are now bound to miss very frequently and lose many arrows, whereas they are able to shoot animals with only a few of them."

---

"1. That is, a woman who has no husband that brings her game and therefore is obliged to go hungry."

1: Karsten--523-526 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"According to one myth current among the Jibaros the stars originated in the following way.

In ancient times the sky (nayéimbi) was solid like the earth, with many stones. Here there lived a Jibaro woman named Atsúta. She was the first who possessed beans (mika) the different kinds of silique which [524] the Jibaros now know, the númbuima mika, the tingúkama mika, the purusangápa mika, and the surítika mika. Atsúka sowed these different kinds of bean in the sky. Later on all these beans were lighted. In this way, the woman Atsúka created the stars, which were originally the beans sowed by Atsúta.

According to another myth the stars were originally people (eintsu) like the sun and the moon. They originated in the following way.

A Jibaro woman married a jaguar and lived with him in a house. One day the jaguar said to the woman: 'Eat out the lice which I have in my head.' The woman began to look for the lice and took one louse from the head of her husband and put it in her mouth; but afterwards she spat it out in disgust. The jaguar, noting this, said to the woman: 'How is it that you dislike your husband in that way and do not like to eat out the lice from his head?' Having said this, the jaguar bit his wife to death and tore her body into pieces to eat it. The woman had been pregnant with two eggs, and when the jaguar did this, the eggs fell out The mother of the jaguar was present and when she saw the eggs she picked them up, took a clay pot, and placed some cotton and the eggs in it. She kept and tended the eggs, and after some time two small Jibaro boys were hatched from them, and the boys were stars. The stars grew larger and larger and the mother of the jaguar went on tending them, getting another and bigger clay pot for them. When the jaguar went out hunting in the forest, the mother took them out of the clay pot on the floor and gave them food. And when the jaguar returned from the forest she again put them into the pot, keeping the latter on the roof of the house. As the stars grew up they took care of themselves, being anxious that the jaguar should not see them, since they knew that he would kill them. They became youths, and still they stayed in the house of the jaguar. Always when the jaguar went to the forest they got down, had their meals, and talked with their grandmother, but when the jaguar returned home they went up to the roof, hiding themselves there in a recess.

One day when the jaguar had gone out hunting as usual the stars said to the mother of the jaguar: 'Tell the jaguar, when he returns from the forest, to cut for you two good chonta lances. It might happen that the jaguar demon (iguánchi yawá) comes from the forest while he is away and kills you.' The stars said this because they intended to kill the jaguar to avenge the death of their mother. When the jaguar returned home his mother did as the stars had asked her. The jaguar cut two lances of chonta and at once went out hunting again. Then the stars [525] got down and killed the mother of the jaguar with the lances. They cut her body in pieces, put the flesh into a pot, and boiled it well so that the jaguar might eat it on his return. Thereupon they fixed a pole in the

1; Karsten--523-526 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 539 (1928-29)

plantation near the house and blew upon it so as to make it speak to the jaguar with his mother's voice when he returned and asked for her. The jaguar soon came home from the forest and shouted: nukúa hau, nukúa hau, 'Where are you, mother? Come at once for I am in a hurry and must presently go back to the forest; I have caught neither hogs nor anything else; I am hungry and returned home only to eat and will go out hunting again at once.' Then the pole answered from the plantation with the voice of the jaguar's mother: 'You can eat in the house I am here in the plantation collecting some manioc. There is meat for you in the house, you need only eat it.' The jaguar entered the house and ate the meat, the very flesh of his mother who had been cooked in the pot, and again went out into the forest. When he returned, however, he did not come alone but brought with him all the other kinds of jaguar and tiger cats which live in the forest. There was the soacha, the great black jaguar, the shia-shia, the ordinary spotted jaguar, the hapayawára, or leopard, the yambínga, yantána, yawára, and other kinds of felidae. All these were assembled in the house, and the stars decided to kill them all at once when they went away again. Now the house of the tigers was situated close to a precipice over which there was only one way, a bridge made by the tigers consisting of tree trunks. It was not possible to enter the house from any other side. As soon as the tigers went off the two stars placed themselves at both sides of the precipice over which the bridge led, each armed with his lance. In the middle of the bridge on its

1: Karsten--523-526 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 539 (1928-29)

underside they made a cutting, so that the bridge would easily break under a great weight. In the evening all the tigers returned from the forest. At the head came the black jaguar, soácha, and at the end the yambínga, the two most powerful of all tigers, guarding the rest. The tigers stepped on to the bridge: when they were in the middle of it, one of the stars threw his lance at the soácha who came first and precipitated him into the abyss; the other star did the same to the yambínga who came last. At the same time the bridge broke and the rest of the tigers also fell into the precipice and perished. The only one who was able to save himself was the leopard, hapayawára: being extremely agile he managed, taking an enormous jump, to reach the edge of the precipice and disappeared into the forest.

The other star looked for a place where he could join his brother [526] and both went into the house. There they sat down to meditate on the situation. 'It is not possible for us to live in peace in this country', they said, 'for the leopard has escaped, and one day he will take revenge for the death of the rest and kill us; it is better that we seek another country where we can live safely.' The stars went and collected a number of arrows of the cane growing on the bank of the river called wachi. They brought these pieces of cane into the house and the one said to the other: 'with the aid of these we will ascend to the sky'. One of the stars was bigger than the other and was named Yanguái;(1) the other and smaller star was named Ya. Ya first threw an arrow at the

"1. The star Venus."

1; Karsten--523-526 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 539 (1928-29)

sky; the arrow however did not reach it but fell down on to the earth. Then Yanguái, who was bigger, threw an arrow which reached the sky and stuck in it. Thereupon he threw another arrow into the hole at the lower end of the first one, so that it was fixed there; into the second they shot a third, into third a fourth, and so on, until a long line had been formed which reached from the sky down to the earth. 'Now we have a line', said the stars, 'but it is very weak, it will probably break if we try to climb up to the sky along it.' Then the stars touched the arrows with their fingers at those points where they fitted into one another, blowing and spitting upon them, and in this way a strong, compact band was formed of the different arrows. The stars climbed up to the sky along this band and remained there. This band is still by called [sic] by the Jibaros étsa néika, i.e. 'the liana of the sun'.(2)

From these two stars, Yanguái and Ya, the rest of the numerous stars which now exist in the heavens originated. In ancient times the stars, which were like people, frequently descended from the heavens to the earth along the band étsa néika, and similarly people from here sometimes ascended to the sky, by the same means. It is owing to this that we still know the story related above; if there had not been this

---

"2. The scientific name of this liana, which resembles a rope-ladder, is Caulotretus."

1; Karsten--523-526
116, 539

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-6

communication between the heavens and the earth we should not know how the stars originated. Later on, however, the moon destroyed the band étsa néika, which in consequence no longer exists and it is therefore not possible in our days to ascend to the sky from the earth.

Note. This myth is of interest, among other things, as showing to what extent the mind of the Jibaros is penetrated by the idea of retaliation, and the treacherous way in which they go to work to annihilate their enemies."

1: Karsten--527-532 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The first victory feast of the Jibaros.

[KS: For the Jivaro text of this myth with interlineal translation see the original work, pp. 527-530. The English translation is given on the following sheets.]

1: Karsten--527-532 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 (1928-29)

In ancient times, it is related, there was another kind of people than nowadays. In those times all animals and birds were like men (shuāra) the jaguar, (shia-shia), was like a Jibaro, the sloth (uyúshi) was like a Jibaro, all monkeys, the black monkey (washi), the red howling monkey (yakúma), the brown monkey (chuo), the capuchin monkey (tsiri) were like Jibaros; all birds were men; the paugi (mashu), the trumpeter bird (chiva), the mago (chui), the umbrella-bird (ungúmi), the bird yukúru, the bird wikeáko, the bird chukáchi, the bird shíki were like Jibaros; all fish were people; the wambi, the kánga, the sheat-fish napi, were like Jibaros; the crab (uríki) was like a Jibaro, the snail (tsúntsu) was like a Jibaro. In a lake the great serpent (pangi) also lay outstretched. The serpent made an end of (killed) many people. Therefore the whole people was assembled, all being angry. The wikeáko said to the yukúru: 'What shall we do? Why shall the whole people be made an end of, why shall so many women be made widows? May we assemble quickly, may we kill the serpent, may we kill him.' The chukáchi spoke: Yukúru, are not you really a brave man? Make a breach in the lake shore (an outlet for its waters), dig it, dig it! As soon as the water of the lake has flowed away we will kill the serpent, we will certainly kill him.' 'All right', said the yukúru, 'but at this moment we shall not be able to dig through the shore of the lake, but another day we will make the water flow out [531]from it. Then we will kill the serpent when he leaves.' Thereafter (another day) they all assembled and made a breach in the lake shore. 'Now we have dug through the shore' (they said), 'now the water will flow off; after, when the

1: Karsten--527-532 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 539 (1928-29)

serpent tries to go out, kill him, kill him, do not let him escape!'

In the lake there were also a number of fish and the crab (uríki). Since the water of the lake had been made to flow out the fish and the crab were also obliged to leave. Then the bird shiki speared the crab (uríki), and the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) killed the fish kánga and 'skinned' his head. The bird mashu shouted to the bird wikeáko: 'Spear the wámbi also, spear him, do not let him escape!' 'The other one (the wikeáko) was not able to spear him because he slipped. The bird chui really speared the wámbi, but the wámbi escaped, having drawn out the lance. Much blood flowed; hence the fish wámbi has still a red tail and red fins.

Then the serpent also left the lake, being very angry. 'Now he comes, now he comes', all shouted. 'Chiva, spear him you, spear him you!' But the chiva fell from fear. Then all fell upon him (the serpent) and killed him. The yukúru shouted to the mashu: 'Why do you stay there afraid? Be a man and cut off his head!' The mashu seized a machete and cut off the head of the serpent. Then all shouted: 'Take off his scalp, skín his head, skin it! Now we will assemble, all of us, we will make a feast, the widows may make nice manioc-beer, much, much, much! Now we may dance, now we may rejoice, for we have killed the serpent!'

Thereupon all the widows assembled in the house. Then a woman said to the yukúru: 'You marry me, you marry me; are not you the man who killed the serpent who made an end of my husband's life?' 'Cha, the yukúru said, 'I do not think I have killed him alone; all of us killed him in company. I do not think it is my duty to marry you. May the mashu decide, he is the host, let him decide!'

The wikeáko sang:
'I also have killed,
I also have killed,
Now, now, now, I rejoice,
I rejoice, I rejoice!'

All were feasting, all were dancing, the women the children, all danced.

All the widows, intoxicated by the beer, sang:
'We have killed the serpent, [532]
we have killed the serpent,
him who made an end of so many people eating them,
now we rejoice, now we rejoice!'

All the beer was consumed because so many people had assembled.

'Now we have consumed all the beer', (they said), 'now we may leave after we have feasted and danced. May we go home and sleep.'

All went off.

Thereupon the language of all these people was altered. The language of the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) was this: hum, hum, hum. The language (cry) of the paugi (mashu) was

1: Karsten--527-532 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 539 (1928-29)

this: histi, histi, histi. The language of the black monkey (washi) became this: óa-oá, oa-á-aó. These languages were not understood. The washi went away with one language, the mashu went away with another language, the ungúmi went away with a third language. Thereafter many of them were provided with wings, and many of them became fishes. The washi, the yakúma, the tsiri were made like people. So they are all now.

Everything was ended.

Note. This myth gives us a vivid picture of a battle between Jibaro Indians and also throws light over certain details of the great victory-feast. As we find, it is customary among the Jibaros that a warrior marries the widow of the man whose death he has avenged, and the woman then plays the most important part at the great feast in which the victory is celebrated.--As to the language which the animals assumed after the great feast, it is of interest to note that the men at the feast still shout histi, histi, histi as did formerly the bird paugi (mashu), whereas the women, when dancing, incessantly repeat the refrain: óa-á-aó, oa-á-aó, as formerly the black monkey sang."

1: Karsten--532-535
116, 539

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The Jibaros were about to make a great feast and had sent two youths to the forest to hunt. The youths travelled three days into the forest and camped there in the shade of a big tree. On the following day they started hunting; they shot a number of peccary pigs, monkeys, and birds. They brought the animals and birds to the camp, where they dried the flesh at the fire, and then placed it on a frame made of boughs to keep it there. On the following day they again went out hunting. When they returned to the shelter in the afternoon they found [533]that the whole of the meat they had placed on the frame had been stolen. 'Who has stolen our food while we have been absent?', the youths asked one another. But they could not find the thief. The youths dried the flesh which they had caught that day and placed it on the frame as before. When they returned in the afternoon they found that the meat had again been stolen. 'Who can it be that does us this harm', they again said to each other, 'and always steals our meat while we are in the forest?' But they could not give any answer. 'All right', said one of the youths, 'you go to-morrow alone into the forest and I will stay here to see who it is that steals our meat while we are absent.' They did as they youth proposed, and the one remained in the neighbourhood of the shelter while the other went hunting.

After a while the Jibaro who had stayed in the shelter heard a strange noise from within the big tree at the root of which they had made the shelter. He hid himself behind another tree and saw how the great serpent (pangi) came from the hollow stem of

1; Karsten--532-535 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 539 (1928-29)

the tree, crawled to the frame where the meat was and ate it, whereupon he again entered the hollow tree. 'I have seen the thief,' he said to the other Jibaro youth, 'it is the serpent who lives in the big tree that always comes out to eat our meat while we are in the forest.' 'All right', said the other youth, 'we will go out and collect much fuel and place it round the tree, and if the quantity we collect to-day is not enough, we will collect more to-morrow. Then we will make a fire round the tree and burn the serpent.' The youths proceeded in this way and made a big fire close to the tree. The serpent which was within it began hissing dreadfully and came out from the trunk, threw himself to the ground, twisted himself round the stem and was burned. 'Now we have burned the serpent!', the youths exclaimed. A smell of burned flesh arose. 'Shall we try the flesh of the serpent?' asked one of the youths. 'No, how could we try the flesh of the serpent', answered the other, 'it is very bad'.

Having said this the youth went into the forest for a moment. When he came back his comrade said to him: 'Now I have tasted of the flesh of the serpent.' 'Why have you tasted it?', answered the other, 'perhaps you will die, for you have eaten the flesh of the pangi who is an evil demon.' I was hungry', the other said, 'therefore I ate of the flesh'. In the same moment the Jibaro youth who had tried the flesh of the serpent felt a consuming thirst and drank all the water which was at hand. 'Where shall I get more water to drink', he asked, 'for a terrible thirst torments me?' They both went to a small pool in the neighbourhood.[534]The youth started to drink water, he swallowed and swallowed, but he could not allay his thirst. 'I shall burst from the water I drink', he said, 'and be wholly changed into a lake because I have eaten the flesh of the pangi'. The youth drinking the water was first changed into a frog, then into a small alligator, and lastly into a water serpent which grew larger and larger, and at the same time the water in the pool increased more and more and became a lake. The other Jibaro youth got frightened and tried to draw him out of the lake but he could not. He went away from the lake for a moment, and when he returned the snake had been changed into a monstrous serpent, a pangi, and the lake had swollen into a very big lake which threatened to inundate the earth. The Jibaro who had been transformed into a serpent said to his comrade: 'Leave me quickly to save your own life. I have been made a serpent and I shall probably not spare you but swallow you. Go quickly to our people and relate to them everything that has happened: tell them that the water will rise more and more and will inundate the whole earth, and that they may save themselves by mounting quickly the highest hills and climbing up into the highest trees growing there; unless they do so, they will die in the water which will cover the whole earth. As to yourself, take your taappa (gourd) and put it in your shigra (bag of chambira fibres) and then climb the highest hill. If the water should cover the hill also, climb into the highest palm growing there to save yourself.'

The other Jibaro youth did as his comrade had told him. He went home and told the other Jibaros what had happened and advised them how to save themselves, but they did not believe him and said: 'What nonsense is the man talking, probably he has killed his comrade.' Then the youth went alone, carrying with him his teappa in the shigra. When the water began to cover the earth he mounted a high hill, and when the hill was covered he climbed up in a high palm which grew on the hill. All the rest of the Jibaros, who had not troubled to save themselves, were drowned. The youth who had mounted the hill was the only one who was saved. He remained on the hill and in the palm for many days until at last the waters began to sink. In order to find out whether the water had receded and the earth had dried up he threw down a seed from the palm. As soon as he heard the seed fall on the ground the youth got down from the palm. 'Where is my comrade and the rest of my people who have perished?', he said to himself. He saw that some vultures alighted in the valley between the hills and understood that the [535] bodies of those who had perished in the deluge were there. He went in search of his comrade who had been transformed into a serpent, and at last he found him in a small pool of water, the serpent now being also quite small. The youth said: 'This is my comrade, how could I leave him here alone?' He placed the serpent in the gourd which he had brought with him in his bag, took him to a bigger pool and left him there. But the serpent grew more and more. When the pool was no longer big enough for him, he took him to a lagoon and put him there. Later on, when the serpent had grown still bigger, he took him to a lake, but as he was too big to be carried, he took a vine and tied it round his neck and dragged him to the lake. There the vine suddenly broke and the serpent disappeared under the water. The Jibaro had a dog who started to swim in the water, and the serpent swallowed him. Now he dared no longer approach the lake to look for the serpent. But in a dream the serpent said to the youth: 'Do not come near me any longer, for I am bound to eat you as I have eaten the dog.' There the serpent remained and increased, and from that lake he has spread to all other lakes where the great serpent now exists."

l: Karsten--539
116, 197

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The ethnic and linguistic position of the Jibaros is unknown, and I have not considered this the place to enter into a discussion of that problem. That the Jibaros at any rate do not belong to the Arawak stock, as suggested by Rivet, may be regarded as certain. The instances of supposed similarities between the Jibaro and the Arawak languages mentioned by him are most doubtful and prove nothing, nor have any affinities between it and any other language as yet determined. Apart from this question, it is of course important to give as detailed information about the language as possible."

1: Karsten--539-541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 114 (1928-29)

"The small grammer [sic] and vocabulary published by me in Spanish in 1921 under the title *La Lengua de los Indios Jibaros* may be regarded as the first real account of the language of these Indians. I am of course aware that as early as 1909 and 1910 a short study of it had been published by H. Beuchat and P. Rivet in the *Anthropos*(1). But neither of the authors had any personal knowledge of it; their study is wholly founded on sources of secondary importance, namely the short and untrustworthy vocabularies noted down by passing travellers who have visited the Jibaros at different times. Even the vocabularies made by the Catholic Fathers appear to be greatly lacking in exactness. Thus the very name given the Jibaros by Beuchat and Rivet *Šiwōra* (*Shiwōra*) is erroneous. The name by which all Jibaro tribes call themselves is *Shuāra*. Now it is a well-known fact that there are different dialects of the language, and the authors mentioned also distinguish such dialects. But the sources of their information were most unreliable as appears from the vocabulary. In that vocabulary the dialect of Macas is best represented. But the informants of those who have originally written down the words have evidently not been the Indians inhabiting that [540] region, that is, the Jibaros of the Upano, but the mestizos of Macas. Many of these speak the Jibaro

---

"1. Beuchat et Rivet, 'La langue Jibaro ou Šiwora', in *Anthropos*, tom. IV (1909) and tom. V (1910)."

language fairly well, but one peculiarity characteristic of them is that they lengthen many Jibaro words with a syllable which is made to begin with an l, although this letter does not exist in the language at all, thus distorting the words. Both in Rivet's monograph on the Jibaros and in Beuchat's and Rivet's article on the Jibaro language accordingly we find words like tunduli instead of tundúi (the big drum), súla instead of sua (Genipa americana), hēla instead of hēa, 'house', pingullu instead of pingüi (flute) huambulúshi instead of huambuíshi (the silk cotton), all erroneous forms of the words quite commonly used at Macas. Other errors also abound throughout in the vocabulary, but space makes it impossible for me to call attention to them. These errors are in a way quite natural. No one can satisfactorily write on a language which he does not know, without having reliable material at his disposal.

It may be proper in this connection to emphasize that it is by no means so easy as has generally been assumed to note down a vocabulary of the language of a savage tribe. The opinion that almost any passing traveller, who chances to come into contact with members of a tribe, is able to make a vocabulary of its language, good enough to serve as a basis for comparative linguistic studies, is founded in error. My own impression at any rate is that most of the incomplete vocabularies and notes of Indian languages which have been made, in former times as in our own days, by such untrained and superficial observers in different parts of South America are useless from a scientific

1: Karsten--539-541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 114 (1928-29)

point of view and that a doubtful service is done to comparative liguistics [sic] by their publication. Even missionaries and other persons who have perhaps stayed for years among the same people, have often lacked that phonetic ear necessary for the purpose of apprehending the strange words and writing them down correctly. A special aptitude and training for this sort of study is, I think, also necessary.

Another little-known grammer [sic] and vocabulary of the Jibaro language was published privately in Ecuador in 1928 by Father Salvador Duroni of the Salesian Order, under the title Diccionario de bolsillo del idioma Jibaro. The vocabulary is comparatively copious and its author evidently possessed some practical knowledge of the language. It contains however numerous errors, and besides this, the transcription will render the pronunciation of many words difficult for an English reader. A curious mistake appearing in this as well as in Beuchat's and Rivet's grammer [sic] [541] on the Jibaro language is that as the particular characteristic of the infinitive the suffix tasan is regularly given which is said to be, in itself, the auxiliary verb 'to be'. I do not know whether such an infinitive termination exists in the Gualaquiza dialect, spoken by the now half-civilized Jibaro Indians living near the town Cuenca, almost the only Jibaro dialect of which I have no knowledge. Father Duroni does not indicate which particular tribe speaks the language recorded by him; he simply speaks of the 'Jibaro language'. I have therefore to remark that none of the Jibaro tribes whom I know have

l: Karsten--539-541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 114 (1928-29)

an infinitive ending with the suffix tázan. The suffix which is specially characteristic of the infinitive is tínyu, in itself an infinitive form of the auxiliary tíhei, 'I am'."

I: Karsten--541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"I started to study the Jibaro language from the beginning of my stay among the Upano tribe, with first my interpreter from Macas and later Jibaro Indians as teachers. Gradually I compiled a vocabulary of more than a thousand words, which was carefully verified many times with the aid of my Indian friends. Similarly, in conversation with the Indians I tried to catch the most important grammatical and syntactic rules which are stated here. During my last stay among the Jibaros in 1928-29 I again revised my vocabulary, making certain corrections and additions. I thus venture to hope that the mistakes which are almost inevitable in a book treating of the language of a savage people are here reduced to a minimum."

1: Karsten--542-544 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 194 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of the sounds of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 542-544.]

1: Karsten--543 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 195, 201 (1928-29)

"In the language of the Jibaros the energetic and vehement character of these Indians is manifest, and many sounds are consequently pronounced more sharply and emphatically than in European languages. Besides this, we have to remember that the Jibaros do not express their thoughts and feelings merely by words but also by mimicry and all sorts of gestures, by movements of the arms, the feet, the head, indeed by their whole body, on certain occasions also by means of their arms, the lance and the shield. As I have stated above, it makes a peculiar, almost awe-inspiring impression to see two Jibaro Indians engaged in a ceremonial conversation. We have to take these accessory means of expression into account if we want to form an adequate idea of the language of these savages."

1: Karsten--544-559 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 193 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of Jivaro grammar see the original work, pp. 544-559.]

1: Karsten--548-549 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 802 (1928-29)

"The majority of the Jibaros are able to count to 'ten', but only for the five first numerals have they proper names. They always count with the fingers, beginning with those of the left hand, and then also with the toes.

The power of counting seems less developed among the Aguarunas; they have proper names only for the three first numerals: chikis, one, hima, two, and mayándi, three and also for five which, like other Jibaros, they denote by the word wéhe amúkei (literally: 'I have finished the hand').

Among the Upano tribes the numerals are as follows:

chikichi, one,
himera, two,
meneíndu or kámbatama, three,
einduk-einduk, four
wéhe amúkei (='I have finished the hand'), five.

If the Jibaro Indian is obliged to count more than fine, [sic] he seizes the fingers of his right hand with those of the left; then, beginning with the thumb, he goes on counting, using the following expressions:

huini wéhe, six, (here I have a [finger from the other] hand)
himera wéhe, seven (two fingers [from the other hand])
meneíndu wéhe, eight (three fingers)

1: Karsten--548-549 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 802 (1928-29)

einduk-einduk wéhe, nine (four fingers)
mai wéhe amúkahei, ten (='I have finished both hands').

If it is necessary to continue counting the Jibaro seizes the toes of one foot, one by one, and counts chikichi, himera, menéindu (one, two, three), etc. When he arrives at the fifth toe he says: huini náwi amúkahei, 'here I have finished one foot' (Huini = here, náwi = foot), it being understood that he has begun with the hands. The said phrase, therefore, is equal to 'fifteen'.

Thereupon he may continue counting with the toes of the other foot, and when he arrives at the last toe he says: mai náwi amúkahei, [549] 'I have finished both feet'; this means 'twenty'. Twenty is the absolute limit for the Jibaro counting, as far as it is expressed in words.

'Ten' may also be expressed by joining both hands closed, without using any particular expression, and if the Jibaro wants to indicate 'twenty', 'thirty', 'forty', etc., he does it by joining his closed hands two, three, four, etc. times.

It is characteristic of the Jibaro Indian that he cannot indicate a number in the abstract, but always does it by signs, even when he possesses a particular word for it, and nearly always he begins from 'one', counting on his fingers until he arrives at the number he wants to indicate. If, for instance, in regard to a feast which lasts for five days, a Jibaro is asked how many days the Indians celebrate it, he does not directly

1: Karsten--548-549
116, 802

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

answer 'five', but he starts to count on his finger beginning with 'one', mentioning what they do every day: 'The first day we do that and that, the second we do that and that, and so on, until he arrives at the fifth (little) finger, when he says: 'With this the feast is ended'. Similarly, if for instance six Jibaro Indians have left for a journey and one askes[sic]how many Indians went off, the answer will never be a direct 'six', but the Indian interrogated begins to enumerate the names of all those who went off, always counting on his fingers, until he arrives at the first finger on the right hand which means 'six'. This need of making numbers as concrete as possible in counting seems to me to illustrate that lack of power of abstraction which is characteristic of a primitive mind."

1: Karsten--560-582 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's vocabulary of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 560-582.]

1; Karsten--562-563 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 601 (1928-29)

"2. Family, relationship, etc.

Father, apáru.
Mother, nukúa, nukúru.
Son, uchi.
Daughter, nauánda.
Brother's brother, yatsúru.
Sister's brother, umáru.
Brother's sister, umáru.
Sister's sister, kaéru.
Father's brother, apáru (=father).
Mother's brother, ichiru.
Father's sister, nukúa (=mother).
Brother-in-law, (a man to his sister's husband) seiru.
Brother-in-law, ( a woman to her sister's husband), umáru ( = brother).
Sister-in-law (a man to his wife's sister), umáru ( = sister).
Sister-in-law (a woman to her brother's wife), yuáru.
Two men married to two sisters call each other: umbātima.
The wives of two brothers call each other: kaéru ( = sister).
Father-in-law, whéaru.

1: Karsten--562-563 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 601 (1928-29)

Mother-in-law, tsátsaru.
Son-in-law, awéru.
Daughter-in-law, nauánda (= daughter).
Stepson, chikichi ŭchi.
First cousin, yatsŭru, umáru (= brother, sister).
Forefathers, apăchiru.
Sucking babe, uchichi. [563]
People, eintsu.
Family, winya eintsu (= my own people).
Man, aishmangu.
Woman, noa.
Boy, uchi.
Girl, nauánda.
Old man, ashánda, unta.
Old woman, ashánda.
Youth, yamátskama.
Husband, aishiru.
Wife, winya noa.
Christian (white man), apachi.

I: Karsten--562-563 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 601 (1928-29)

Indian (Jibaro), shuāra.
Chief, kapitu (Sp.), unta (= old man).
Medicine-man, sorcerer, wishinyu.
Priest, (old man who assists at the feasts), whuéa.
Host, heindinyu.
Guest, irāra.
Friend, amichi (Sp.).
Enemy, (winya) shuara.
Killer (warrior), mangertcama.
Single man, nātsa, (= noa tsa, 'without woman').
Widow, widower, wáhe.

1: Karsten--583-586 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 177 (1928-29)

"The civilizing of the savage Indians is everywhere in South America a leading question of the day, but it has, I think, a special importance attached to it in regard to a tribe so richly endowed by nature as the Jibaros. In fact, with the exception of the ancient Inca culture, I know no native culture in South America so strongly pronounced and so peculiar in many of its traits as the Jibaro culture. In its present form it is of course, doomed to disappear; it is also necessary that certain ideas and customs, above all their inveterate belief in witchcraft and [584] the custom of head-hunting, should be made to disappear if the Indians are to be raised from that state of barbarism in which they are now. But the question is how the Indians could be made participants of Christian civilization without losing their high mental qualities and their native virtues, and how those traits in their culture which are really valuable could be preserved thereby.

I am far from underrating the devoted civilizing work which the Catholic missionaries, and especially the Jesuits, have done among the South American Indians in former times. As an ethnologist I have reason to emphasize it all the more as these missionaries have at the same time given us some of the most valuable information we possess concerning native Indian cultures that have long ago ceased to exist. If nevertheless it must be stated that the endeavours of the Christian missionaries to convert and civilize the Indians have on the whole proved a failure, this has in part been due to particular unfavourable circumstances over which they have had no control. The

1: Karsten--583-586 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 177 (1928-29)

'civilisation' with which these innocent children of nature have been brought in contact has not as a rule answered to the lofty ideals of Christianity, and those men who have represented it have unfortunalely [sic] more often been Christians by name than in reality. As long as brandy and venereal diseases are the most essential of the 'culture elements' with which these pioneers of 'Christian civilisation' make the Indians acquainted, we cannot wonder that its effects on the latter, as hitherto, rather are shown in their gradual physical and moral degeneration than in real cultural progress. When further we take into consideration that system of slavery or bond-service which has been introduced by the white settlers for instance at the Rio Napo, and to which I have alluded before, we can quite understand the lack of enthusiasm which the natives of South America have as a rule manifested to all civilisatory attempts on the part of the whites, even when they have been made with the best intentions. The Jibaro race especially has resisted them as it were instinctively.

That antipathy against higher culture which has frequently been said to be characteristic of the Indian, in contrast with, for instance, the African negro, must, I believe, to a great extent be explained from this fact. The Indian is by no means averse to culture in itself. On the contrary, my own experience at any rate is that the Indian living in a state of nature is generally eager to acquire knowledge and readily [585] uses the opportunities of learning something about the 'sciences' and language of the whites

1: Karsten--583-586 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 177 (1928-29)

when such opportunities are afforded. Thus when I stayed in the house of the savage Jibaros at Rio Chiguaza during the victory-feast, the Indians with unwearying eagerness tried to learn, from me and my mestizo companions, the Spanish numerals and other words, and they also frequently expressed their desire to learn reading and writing. It is a wellknown fact that the Indians generally learn the Spanish language very easily. Both the Indian's thirst for knowledge and his relatively high natural intelligence seem to me to be a guarantee for his capability to receive a higher culture, if only it is communicated to him in the right way.

In this respect, however, the methods of the missionaries have frequently been perverted. They have too much been thinking of their 'spiritual conquests', of the conversion of the heathen to 'the only true religion', overlooking the fact that exactly this is the part of their teaching which to the primitive Indians is most difficult to understand. Without particularly having the activity of the missionaries in view, I should like to point out that to every people, and especially to primitive folk, the rapid transition from one form of culture to an other and entirely different one necessarily involves certain dangers. Through the methods of education hitherto followed the Indians have lost their faith in the old ideals, and frequently at the same time the foundation on which their old religious and ethical view of the world has been based. The result has naturally been that moral nihilism which unfortunately is characteristic of the present-day half-civilized Indian. The educational work among the Indians should not, I think,

1: Karsten--583-586 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 177 (1928-29)

begin by more or less futile attempts to impart to them new religious ideas or spiritual truths which they do not understand. By improving the conditions of their material existence, by rational teaching in agriculture and in useful handicrafts, and above all by observing absolute justice in all dealings with them, the white teachers could easily awake in them that interest and confidence which is a *conditio sine qua non* for success in any educational work. His liberty and independence the Jibaro Indian appreciates more than anything else. This should be guaranteed to him by law, including the protection on the part of the authorities against abuses of any kind, and especially against the brandy of the whites, the chief motor of degeneration in all 'civilized' Indians. Material progress would no doubt be followed by intellectual and moral progress, and thus a gradual change in the Indian view of the world be brought [586] about. Even their greatest curse, their belief in witchcraft, can hardly be overcome by directly combatting it, as the missionaries have hitherto done, but only by general enlightenment.

The Jibaros, in spite of their spirit of freedom, cannot in the long run escape the influence of civilization. By wise politics their degeneration and total extinction--which too, at any rate in part, is the result of the contact with civilization--could at least be delayed, and thus the hour postponed when this interesting form of human culture has entirely disappeared."